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ITALY AND HER INVADERS

HODGKIN

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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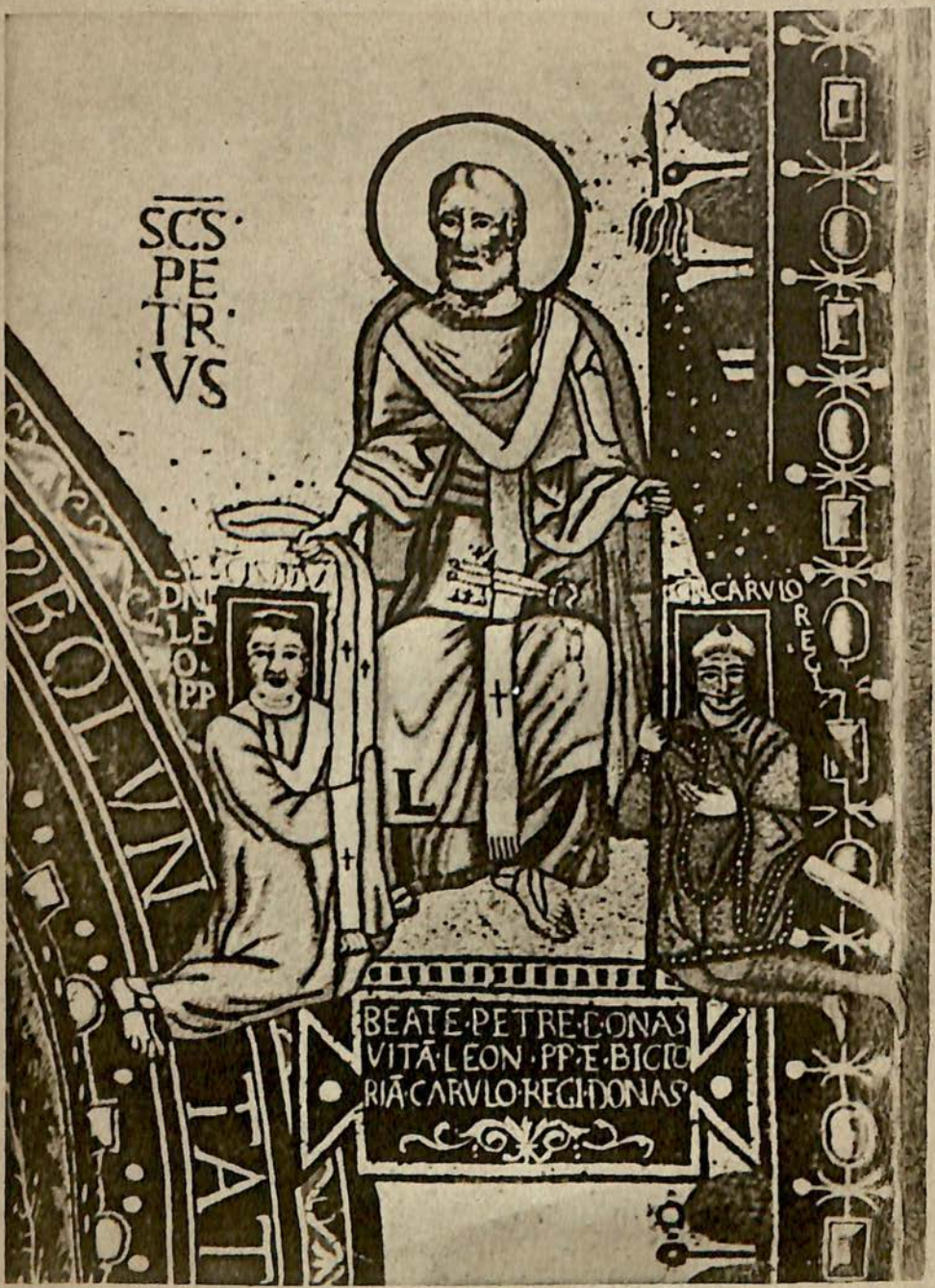

MOSAIC AT THE LATERAN, REPRESENTING CHARLES THE GREAT AND LEO THE THIRD RECEIVING GIFTS FROM ST. PETER

See Vol. VIII, p. 169

y and Her Invaders.—Frontispiece to Vol. VIII

ITALY

AND

HER INVADERS

774—814

BY

THOMAS HODGKIN

D.C.L., OXFORD AND DURHAM

LITT. D., DUBLIN

FELLOW OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON

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BOOK IX. THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

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CORRIGENDA.

P. 54, l. 12, *for* 'Constantine' *read* 'Constans.'
P. 54, l. 13, *for* 'Mamulus' *read* 'Mamalus.'
P. 72, l. 9 from bottom, *for* 'Soana' *read* 'Sovana.'
P. 112, last line, *for* 'Praesentatis' *read* 'Praesentalis.'

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BOOK IX.

THE FRANKISH EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATE OF HADRIAN I.

Frankish and Byzantine Affairs.

Sources:—

'For Byzantine affairs here alluded to, our chief authority is THEOPHANES (described in vol. vi. p. 415), who is now strictly a contemporary, but a vehement partisan.

Guides (for the same subject):—

My chief guides are *Schlosser's* 'Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser,' and *Bury's* 'History of the Later Roman Empire.'

Pope Hadrian's long pontificate. Feb. 9, 772, to Dec. 26, 795.

POPE HADRIAN occupied the chair of St. Peter for twenty-three years, ten months, and seventeen days, a longer period than had fallen to the lot of any of his predecessors, except the twenty-five years which tradition assigns to St. Peter himself. That part of his pontificate which still lies before us was, as far as Italy was concerned, a long and level space, not marked by any such striking events as those with which the preceding thirty years had been thickly studded, nor will it require to be considered in so much detail.

Of course in Italy and all the western world the figure that loomed largest in the eyes of men was that of the great Austrasian, Charles, 'King of the

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Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans.' His intervention in the affairs of Italy was necessarily fitful and intermittent, for (as has been already said) he had hard tasks to perform north of the Alps, tasks which sometimes wellnigh over-strained even his marvellous energy, and more than once exhausted his long-enduring patience. A very brief outline of these transalpine labours of his will serve to indicate that which lay in the background of Italian history during this quarter of a century.

Charles's Thirty Years' War with the Saxons.

The great, the Herculean labour of Charles during all the central portion of his reign was his Thirty Years' War[1] for the subjugation of the Saxons. Subjugation, as Charles soon perceived, meant Christianisation, and would not be accomplished without it. Christianisation by moral and spiritual agencies was a slow process, too slow for the masterful Austrasian. There were therefore compulsory baptisms, fierce laws against obdurate heathens or relapsed converts, at last a terrible massacre. Then came great transportations of men, in the style of Sargon or Nebuchadnezzar; Saxons carried away into the heart of Frank-land; Frankish settlements planted in ravaged Saxonia. Thus at length, by harshest and least spiritual means, outward conformity to the religion which called itself Christianity was secured, and order reigned in Saxon-land.

Eighteen campaigns were needed to accomplish the work which was not ended at the time of the death of Hadrian. I here only lightly touch on the chief crises of that deadly struggle.

[1] So we may call it, dating from its origin (772) to its close (804), but there were breathing spaces in which no actual campaign was undertaken.

In 772 (as has been already related) Charles marched against the central tribe of Saxons, the Angarii, and hewed down their great tree-idol, the Irminsul. This act of defiance of the national faith was avenged by an invasion of the Saxons in 774. They entered Hesse, ravaged the country, sacked the abbey of Fritzlar erected by the holy Boniface, but were restrained—miraculously restrained said the monkish chroniclers—from setting fire to the church. This invasion occurred while Charles was busy with his Lombard campaign. On his return across the Alps, during his winter residence at Carisiacum, he resolved that the Saxon truce-breakers should be either Christianised or exterminated. And in the great campaign of 775, notwithstanding a serious reverse which befell one of his generals[1], his arms were on the whole triumphant. The rebellion of Hrodgaud, duke of Friuli, called him across the Alps in the spring of 776, but he returned that same year, and prosecuted his military operations with such success that the great majority of the Saxons owned themselves beaten, surrendered to him their land, promised henceforth to live as his loyal subjects, and were baptized by thousands in the waters of the Lippe.

It was a deceitful calm, a mirage of victory. There was one chief, stronger and fiercer than all the others, the Westphalian Widukind, who had shared neither the baptism nor the homage to the conqueror, and he for eight years (777–785) waged obstinate war with Charles, leading his Saxons into the very heart of Austrasia while Charles was besieging Spanish towns and enduring the disaster of Roncesvalles, then re-

[1] At Lidbach, near Minden.

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treating before the irresistible onset of the Franks, taking refuge with the heathen king of Denmark, returning to the fray, and guiding, evidently with some military skill, the movements of his insurgent countrymen. But in 785 even Widukind's stubborn soul bowed before the persistent energy of Charles. He surrendered, was baptized, and troubled his conqueror no more. A truce for six or seven years (785–792) followed, but war with the Saxons—now allied with the Frisians, a formidable combination—again broke out at the end of that time, and this war was taxing Charles's utmost energies, when the long pontificate of Hadrian came to a close. Undoubtedly this mighty conflict, not with enervated Lombards but with the grim, exasperated Teutons of the North, was always in the background of the great king's thoughts, even when the affairs of Italy and the Pope's appeals for help most imperiously claimed his attention.

War with the Avars, 791–796.

Another war which, near the end of the period, called Charles with large armies to the banks of the Danube, was that which from 791 to 796 he waged against the nation of the Avars. We have seen this Asiatic horde, successors of the Huns both in ethnological and in geographical position, enter Europe about the middle of the sixth century, ally themselves with Alboin, and afterwards invade and cruelly ravage the duchy of Friuli which was ruled by the descendant of Alboin's comrade[1]. For some time they had ceased to be an overwhelming terror either to Italy or to Byzantium, and now, at the close of the eighth century, by a series of masterly campaigns, Charles succeeded in shattering their power, in storming their capital,

[1] See vol. v. p. 137; vi. p. 50, &c.

girdled as it was by nine concentric rings of fortification[1], and carrying off the immense hoard which for two centuries had been accumulated there, the results of the ravage or the ransom of the fair lands to the south of the Danube. Chagan and Tuduns (such were the barbarous titles of the king and princes of the Avars) came humbly to Charles's court to ask for baptism and the favour of the mighty Frank. No greater deliverance did Charles work for Europe than this dispersal of the thunder-cloud which had so long hovered over its eastern horizon.

War with Tassilo of Bavaria, 787-788.

Almost equally important in its bearing on the formation of the future German *Reich* was the war in which Charles crushed the rising independence of Bavaria; but, as has been already hinted, the fortunes of the Agilolfing princes were so closely linked in prosperity and adversity with those of the Lombards, that the story of the fall of Tassilo, duke of Bavaria, may be fitly told hereafter in connection with the affairs of Italy.

War in Spain. Disaster at Roncesvalles, 778.

Last to be mentioned here, but among the first of these events in the order of time, was Charles's passage of the Pyrenees in 778, his capture of Pampeluna (previously held not by the Moorish misbeliever but by the Christian king of Asturias), possibly followed by the capture of Saragossa, but more certainly followed by his speedy return across the Pyrenees and by the disastrous defeat of his rear-guard at Roncesvalles.

Charles's family relations.

We must now glance at the family relations of the great king during these central years of his life. We have seen how speedily the place of the divorced Lombard princess Desiderata was filled by the Swabian

[1] Of which an interesting description is given by the Monk of St. Gall, ii. 1.

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Hildegard.

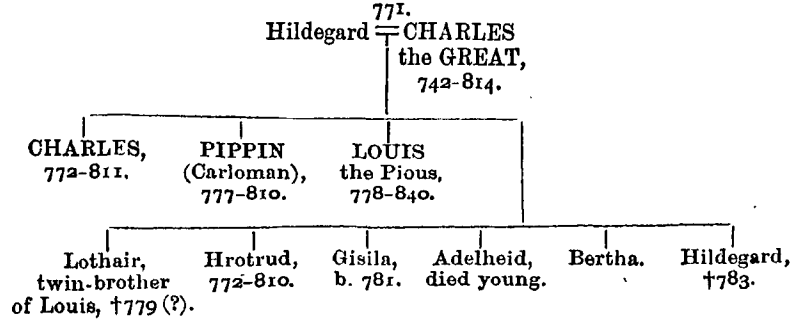
lady Hildegard (771–2). She is said to have been little more than a child, at most thirteen years of age, at the time of her marriage, and her married life lasted but for the same number of years[1], during which she bore nine children to her lord, four sons and five daughters[2]. She was apparently of all Charles's wives the one who was most beloved both by her husband and by his people. She generally accompanied him on his campaigns, and thus it came to pass that her third son Louis (known to history by his surname the Pious or the Debonnair) was born, shortly before the disaster of Roncesvalles, in that country of Aquitaine of which he was to be during the first forty years of his life the nominal or real ruler.

[1] We derive these numbers from some lines in the epitaph on Hildegard, composed by Paulus Diaconus:—

'Alter ab undecimo jam te susceperat annus
Cum vos mellifluus consociavit amor ..
Alter ab undecimo rursum te sustulit annus:
Heu! genitrix regum: heu! decus atque dolor.'

It seems to be admitted that 'alter ab undecimo' may mean not 'the twelfth' but 'the thirteenth' year: but even so, the young queen's marriage is assigned to a period of her life much too early for the healthy Teutonic feeling as to the matrimonial age. Yet it does not seem possible to extract any other meaning from the words of Paulus.

FAMILY OF CHARLES AND HILDEGARD.



Hildegard died in 783, and in the same year Charles lost his mother Bertrada, to whom he was fondly attached, and whose counsels, we are told, he had ever followed, except in the one matter of his repudiation of Desiderata, which was the only root of bitterness that ever sprang up between mother and son [1].

Fastrada.

Not many months after the death of Hildegard the uxorious king took for his third [2] wife Fastrada, the daughter of an Austrasian, Count Radolf. This was the least fortunate of all Charles's matrimonial ventures. Fastrada was a hard and cruel woman, whose influence, says Einhard, often urged her husband to actions contrary to the natural kindliness of his character [3]. Two conspiracies against the throne (in one of which the hunchback Pippin, Charles's son by Himiltrud, was implicated) are attributed by the same writer to the resentment of the Frankish nobles at the cruelties of Fastrada. She died at Frankfurt on the 10th of August, 794, leaving two daughters, Theoderada of the golden locks and Hiltrud. At the end of the period with which we are now dealing, Charles was still a widower, but possibly living in concubinage with her who was to be his fourth [4] and last wife, the beautiful Swabian lady, Liutgard.

Liutgard.

While the Frankish king was thus travelling past

[1] 'Colebat enim [Karolus] eam [matrem] cum summâ reverentiâ, ita ut nulla unquam invicem sit exorta discordia praeter in divortio filiae Desiderii regis, quam illâ suadente acceperat' (Einh. Vita Karoli, 18).

[2] Or fourth if we reckon Himiltrud as a lawfully-wedded wife.

[3] In fairness however it should be noticed that the most atrocious deed of which Charles was guilty, his massacre of the 4,500 Saxons, took place before his marriage with Fastrada.

[4] Or fifth: see ante.

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the meridian of his days, marrying often and seeing a crowd of sons and daughters growing up around him, more than one change was passing over the palace by the Bosphorus, where dwelt the only Christian sovereign whose power could be likened to his own.

Death of Constantine V, 775.

In August, 775, a little more than a year after the fall of Pavia, died the Emperor Constantine V, surnamed by his enemies Copronymus. His hereditary and inveterate hostility to the worship of images, his equally inveterate hostility to the monks and his attempts to degrade or to destroy them, the miserable life which the patriarchs of Constantinople (even though iconoclasts) led under his insulting tyranny, and the curious vein of artistic Paganism which blended with his Puritan iconoclasm, are the chief characteristics of a reign with which we need not now further concern ourselves.

Accession of Leo IV, 775–780.

Constantine was succeeded by his son, Leo IV, who was nicknamed the Khazar, in memory of the fact that his mother Irene was daughter of the Khan of the Khazars. His reign lasted but five years (775–780), and was distinguished by no important event. He was apparently a man of dull, unoriginal character, the sort of son that often grows up under the shadow of so masterful a character as Constantine Copronymus. In his dull way he carried on the iconoclastic policy of his father; he married a daughter of Athens, the energetic and ambitious Irene; he secured the succession for his son by that lady, and having done little else he died on the 8th of September, 780. He was succeeded by his widow and son, Irene and Constantine VI, reigning, not as regent and minor, but as joint sovereigns.

Accession of Irene and Constantine VI.

The character of Irene and her position both in

political and religious history are so peculiar and so important as to require some special notice. An orphan, presumably beautiful[1], and certainly quick-witted, she had in some way fixed upon herself the affections of the young heir, Leo, who obtained his stern father's consent to marry her. Brought from Athens to a villa on the Sea of Marmora, she was escorted thence on the 1st of September, 769, with great pomp to Constantinople. The Bosphorus and the Golden Horn were covered with cutters and pinnaces bright with their silken sails, and all the nobles of Constantinople accompanied the exultant Athenian to the palace, where she was betrothed to Leo the Khazar. Three months later the marriage ceremony was performed, and at the same time she was crowned as Augusta, her husband already possessing the imperial dignity in association with his father.

Character of Irene.

The Isaurian dynasty had, however, committed a fatal blunder when it allowed its future chief to link his fortunes with those of the fair Athenian. To 'the City of the Violet Crown' the stern iconoclasm of Constantine Copronymus was supremely unattractive. When the man of Tarsus visited it seven centuries earlier he found it 'wholly given to idolatry,' and it was a true daughter of those aesthetic loungers in the Agora who had now climbed up into the palace at Constantinople, though not the statues of Apollo or Athene, but the stern visage of the Saviour, the crowned Mother of God, and innumerable representations of apostles, martyrs and fathers, were

[1] I cannot find any distinct statement as to Irene's beauty: but we may presume it from the fact of her having attracted the heir to the throne.

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the objects of her secret devotion. It was doubtless some distrust of her early educational environment which caused her father-in-law soon after her arrival in Constantinople to administer to her a solemn oath that she would never desert the iconoclastic party. She conformed outwardly through the remainder of his reign and through the reign of her husband, but during a fierce outbreak of Leo the Khazar (March, 780) against the worship of images by which he found that his own palace was invaded, the name of the Augusta herself was introduced as favouring the forbidden rites. Some of the proscribed images were found in her bed. She denied that she had ever worshipped them, but her angry and incredulous husband reproached her with her violation of the oath which she had sworn to his father, and banished her from his presence. He had apparently not taken her back into his favour when six months afterwards he died—a most opportune death for the lovers of the sacred emblems.

Sept. 8, 780.

Irene favours the image-worshipping party.

Irene having never been deposed from her imperial dignity succeeded now as joint sovereign with her son, Constantine VI, a boy ten years of age. Naturally, for some years, her will alone prevailed and she was sole ruler of the Empire. Her inclination towards the party of the image-worshippers might be inferred from the fact that she gave back a diadem which her husband had abstracted from one of the churches of Constantinople, and replaced in its own church the body of the virgin-martyr Euphemia[1] which Constantine Copronymus, enraged at its alleged miraculous powers, had ordered to be thrown into

[1] Martyred under Galerius, A.D. 307.

the sea. Being, however, sufficiently occupied in quelling a revolt which was raised on behalf of the five princes, her late husband's half-brothers, she proceeded cautiously in the early years of her reign, and while tolerating, did not venture to enforce the worship of images.

Projected marriage of Constantine VI to a Frankish princess.

It was at this period, while she still felt herself in need of external support, that she commenced negotiations for a matrimonial alliance between her family and that of the great monarch of the Franks. In the year 781, while Charles was spending Easter at Rome (his second visit to the Eternal City), he received there an embassy from Constantinople, consisting of Constans the Treasurer and Mamalus the Grand Chamberlain [1], who came charged by Irene to negotiate a marriage between her son and the princess Hrotrud (whom the Greeks called Erythro), the eldest daughter of Charles and Hildegard. As the proposed bridegroom was only eleven and his intended bride only nine years of age, of course the contracting parties contemplated a long betrothal, but, such as it was, the proposal was accepted: the imperial boy and the royal girl were formally affianced to one another, and the Eunuch Elisha, an imperial notary, was sent to the Frankish court to instruct the future Augusta in the Greek language and literature and in the ceremonial observed in the 'Roman Empire [2].'

[1] 'Primicerius [notariorum].'

[2] Considering the contrariety of evidence as to the breaking off of the match, the words of Theophanes as to the inception of the marriage treaty are important: Ἀπέστειλεν Εἰρήνη Κωνσταὴν (*sic*) τὸν σακελλάριον καὶ Μάμαλον πριμικήριον πρὸς Κάρουλον ῥῆγα τῶν Φράγγων ὅπως τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα, Ἐρυθρὼ λεγομένην, νυμφεύσηται τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῆς. Καὶ γενομένης συμφωνίας καὶ ὅρκων ἀναμεταξὺ

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This alliance between the Isaurian and the Frankish dynasties is one of the great unrealised possibilities of history. It is probable that, had it been perfected, Charles would never have taken the title of Emperor of Rome. It is conceivable that the estrangement of feeling and eventual hostility between the Latins of the West and the 'orthodox Romans' of the East, which prepared the way for the Turkish capture of Constantinople, might have been avoided, if Elisha's lessons had borne their intended fruit, and the little princess Hrotrud had been eventually escorted as Empress by acclaiming multitudes to the palace of Constantine.

Irene's overtures for a reconciliation with the Roman See.

Side by side with Irene's negotiations for the Frankish alliance, she was also labouring cautiously for a reconciliation with the See of Rome. In the year 783, on the abdication of the patriarch Paul, who declared that his conscience was disturbed by his iconoclastic isolation from the other Churches, Irene procured the election of her secretary Tarasius to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople. Tarasius was a layman, and admitted, nay emphasised the irregularity of his elevation, but stipulated for the convocation of a general council which should at the same time confirm his election and reverse the decrees against image-worship which had been passed at the so-called 'seventh ecumenical council' under Constantine Copronymus.

Tarasius patriarch.

754.

The messengers who brought to Pope Hadrian the

ἀλλήλων κατέλιπεν Ἐλισσαῖον τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ νοτάριον πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτὴν τά τε τῶν Γραικῶν γράμματα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ παιδεῦσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ἤθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας (A. M. 6274). We get the fact that the ambassadors met Charles at Rome, from the Chronicon Moissiacense (Pertz, Monumenta, i. 297).

tidings of this intended ecclesiastical revolution must have caused him some perplexity. Great on the one hand was the rejoicing over the prospect that the iconoclastic controversy which had raged for half a century was to be terminated by the triumph of the image-worshippers and of Rome; but on the other hand, the election of a layman to the patriarchal chair was a direct violation of the principle recently asserted in the synod of the Lateran; and this newly-made patriarch still claimed the title of 'ecumenical' which, two centuries before, had so grievously vexed the soul of Gregory[1]. But on the whole, the advantages of the proposed change seemed to predominate. Hadrian addressed letters to Irene and to Tarasius, in which, while gently chiding that which seemed blameworthy, he praised their orthodoxy on the question of image-worship, and agreed to send representatives to the proposed council. He did not omit, however, to claim the restoration of the 'patrimonies of St. Peter' which had been confiscated by Leo III at the time of the first outbreak of the controversy.

Hadrian's dilemma. Oct. 785.

An attempt to hold the desired ecumenical Council at Constantinople in August, 786, was foiled by the iconoclastic party. The war-worn veterans of Constantine Copronymus, still true to the memory of their victorious leader, rushed into the church where the ecclesiastics were assembled, and in fierce tones threatened to slay the new patriarch, the orthodox bishops, and the abbots. Vain were all attempts to quell the mutiny. The threatened churchmen were only too glad to dissolve the Council and to escape from the church, while the bishops (still numerous) of

Abortive synod of 786.

[1] See vol. v. p. 391.

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the iconoclastic party triumphantly shouted, 'We have conquered!'

Their triumph was of short duration. Irene had the monks, and probably the mob of Constantinople, on her side. The soldiers who had taken the lead in the late disturbances were expelled from the city. More obsequious troops were brought from the 'themes' on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and on the 24th of September in the following year (787), a Council which ranks in ecclesiastical history as 'the seventh ecumenical' and 'second Nicene' Council, was held at the venerated sanctuary of Nicaea.

Second Nicene Council, Sept. 24–Oct. 23, 787.

At this Council Tarasius presided, and any irregularity in his election was therefore fully condoned. Numerous bishops who had joined in the iconoclastic movement recanted and were purged of their offences against triumphant orthodoxy. Most important of all was the 'definition'[1] which received the assent of the Council at its seventh session (October 13, 787): 'As the figure of the Holy Cross, so also holy pictures, whether coloured or made of stone or any other material, are to be portrayed on vessels, on garments, on walls, or on tablets, in houses or by the road-side, especially pictures of Jesus Christ, of our immaculate Lady, of the venerable angels, and of all holy men. As often as these representations are looked at, the beholders are stimulated to think upon and imitate the originals, and therefore they are right in bestowing upon them salutation and honouring worship, but not that peculiar service[2] which is due to the Godhead alone.'

Image-worship commended.

[1] Ὅρος.

[2] Ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν ἀπονέμειν οὐ μὴν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πρέπει μόνῃ τῇ θείᾳ φύσει. The distinction

The Second Nicene Council marks the great triumph of the image-worshipping party. It is true that there was a certain backwater of iconoclasm in the ninth century, but it does not seem to have ever after this had any chance of permanent victory in the Eastern Church.

Rupture of the marriage treaty, 787.

Meanwhile, however, to turn from ecclesiastical to political relations, the correspondence about the Franco-Byzantine marriage was not proceeding smoothly. Great obscurity hangs over this abortive negotiation, and, strangely enough, each party to the contract seems to have desired to have the credit, or discredit, of its final rupture[1], which took place in the year 787. It was of course from the first a purely political arrangement, and as the years passed on, both parties discovered that it was not so suitable to their policy as they had supposed. The Byzantines wished to be free to support the Lombard exile, Adelchis; Charles was possibly already beginning to dream of an imperial crown. Female vanity and ambition concurred to the same result. Irene, who was becoming jealous of her

between *προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία* is one which it may be safely said is unknown to the writers of the New Testament. *Προσκυνεῖν* occurs some sixty times, amongst others in such passages as Luke iv. 8, John iv. 24, Rev. vii. 11, where it is connected with the Divine name: and in our English version it is always translated 'worship.' *Λατρεύω* and *λατρεία* occur twenty-four times, and are often translated by 'serve' and 'service'; four times by 'worship.' Always, it is true, they are used of reverence paid to the Almighty.

[1] Einhardi Annales, our chief Frankish source, says, 'Interea Constantinus imperator propter negatam sibi regis filiam iratus Theodorum fines Beneventanorum vastare jussit.' Theophanes (A. M. 6281) says, *Λύσασα δὲ ἡ βασίλισσα Εἰρήνη τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Φράγγους συναλλαγὴν . . . ἤγαγεν κόρην ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν ὀνόματι Μαρίαν—καὶ ἔζευξεν αὐτὴν Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ.*

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son, feared the increase of power which he might derive from an alliance with the Frankish king[1]. Possibly Fastrada also, who during the long course of the marriage treaty had taken the place of the dead Hildegard by Charles's side, disliked the thought that her young step-daughter would obtain a higher place in European ceremonial than her own, as the result of so splendid an alliance. Whatever the cause, the negotiations were broken off, bitter resentment took the place of the interrupted friendship, and the little Hrotrud grew up in her father's court, spent her life there, and died in 810 at the age of thirty-eight, a princess of rare charms and endowments, but, unfortunately for her reputation, a mother though not a wife[2].

Marriage of Constantine VI.

As for Constantine, his mother 'sent for a damsel from Armenia named Maria, and ordered him to marry her.' The youth obeyed, but his resentment at being deprived of his Frankish bride was, we are told, one cause of that estrangement from his mother and of that long duel between them which, though the beginning of it (789) falls within our present period, will be best related in a future chapter in connection with its terrible end.

Charles condemns the worship of images.

It may have been partly a cause and partly a consequence of the estrangement between the two courts that Charles and Irene eventually took opposite sides in the iconoclastic controversy. Possibly the hard struggle which Charles and his servants had to wage against the stubborn idolatry of the Saxons made

[1] So we are expressly told by Zonaras, xv. 10.

[2] Louis, her illegitimate son by Count Norico of Maine, became abbot of S. Denis and other monasteries, and protonotary to Charles the Bald (Simson, Jahrbücher, ii. 424).

him impatient of these decrees, which on the strength of fine-drawn distinctions between 'veneration' and 'worship,' or 'worship' and 'service,' seemed to them practically to commit the Christian Church to the worship of idols. But we perceive also an element of personal antipathy to Irene, of Western antagonism to the East, working in the mind of Charles, when we find him remonstrating against the presumption of the Eastern sovereigns in calling themselves 'God's chosen instruments,' and in styling their own edicts *divalia*; objecting to a woman dictating her decrees to the Church, 'since woman, as the weaker vessel and the one most easily deceived, ought to be in subjection and repressed by the authority of the man'; and lastly, when we hear his invectives against 'certain rulers and priests of the Eastern regions, who, leaving sound doctrine and forgetting the apostolic anathema on any who should bring to his Galatian converts another gospel than that which he had preached to them, by their infamous and most silly synods strive to bring into the Church practices which neither the Saviour nor His Apostles ever taught.'

The Libri Carolini.

These passages are taken from the celebrated Libri Carolini, in which Charles (or some learned man, probably Alcuin, writing by his authority) utters a long tirade—not unaccompanied by argument—against the acts of the Second Nicene Council. With some show of impartiality he censures the iconoclasts as well as the image-worshippers. There is no reason, he says, why there should not be pictures in the churches, in order to stimulate devotion, and preserve in the minds of the people the memory of the events recorded in Scripture; but it is a matter of indifference

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to the Church whether they are there or not. By no means ought their presence in the churches to be insisted on; still less should Christians under peril of anathema be commanded to venerate them, as they were commanded by the rash, impertinent and silly council lately held in Bithynia.

Council of Frankfurt, 794.

The Libri Carolini were composed in 790: and four years later, in 794, at a Council of Frankish bishops held at Frankfurt, a solemn condemnation was pronounced upon 'the Greek synod at Constantinople[1],' which was accused of directing that the same adoration and service should be rendered to the holy images which was rendered to the Trinity. This last statement was due to an utter misunderstanding, and probably to a mistranslation of the proceedings of the council thus condemned. The fact that this mistranslation was to all appearance the work of some scribe in the Lateran (since Hadrian forwarded to Charles a copy of the proceedings translated into Latin) is an evidence of gross carelessness or ignorance, or both, in the officials of the Papal chancery, and is a fact that has an important bearing on the question of the donation of territory, referred to in the preceding chapter.

Charles calls on Hadrian to condemn the Eastern Council.

About the same time as the holding of the Council of Frankfurt, Charles addressed to Hadrian a letter similar to, but not identical with, the Libri Carolini, in which he besought the Pope to join in his condemnation of the detested Council of Nicaea. Of course Hadrian, who saw in the proceedings of that Council the victory of the cause for which he and his predecessors had been striving for half a century,

[1] The last session of the Second Nicene Council was held in the palace of Magnaura at Constantinople.

refused to issue any such condemnation. With great patience, in a very lengthy letter[1], he answered Charles's objections, point by point, indicating some errors into which he had been betrayed by his ignorance of the past history of the controversy. But in Hadrian's mind all roads led eventually to the question of the patrimonies of St. Peter. As he said to Charles, 'When the controversy about the sacred images first broke out, they took from us our patrimonies [in the south of Italy and Sicily]. Now they have renounced, it is true, the errors of iconoclasm, but we cannot get any answer to our reclamation of these patrimonies which are ours by an undoubted title for the lighting of candles [at the tomb of the Apostles] and for the nourishment of the poor. Wherefore, with your approval, we propose to send the Emperor an answer, thanking him for again erecting the sacred images in their old places, but warning him that if he fails to restore its patrimonies to the Holy Roman Church, we shall decide him to be a heretic for thus obstinately persevering in his old error.'

Hadrian's reply.

As to the precise issue of this discussion we are not informed. Possibly Hadrian's death, which occurred soon after, prevented the proposed letter from being ever sent. But the whole of these negotiations are most important in their bearing on the historical question of the separation, political and ecclesiastical, of the East from the West. This separation is often attributed to the iconoclastic controversy as its sole cause. Doubtless the hostile attitude of Leo the Isaurian and Constantine Copronymus on the question

[1] Printed in Migne's Patrologia (second volume of the works of Charles the Great, pp. 1247–1291).

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of image-worship had much to do with estranging the Pope from the Emperor, but it must not bear the whole blame for the final separation. For here, during the years from 787 onwards, we have the Church of Constantinople absolutely reconciled to the Church of Rome on the question of image-worship, and the Empress Irene, the foremost personage in the Empire, the enthusiastic defender of that usage of the Church. On the other hand, Charles and his bishops take up a position, nominally of neutrality, but really of bitter opposition to the Second Nicene Council, advancing arguments which the Pope condemns, and defending positions which he considers heretical. Both sides might agree to ignore the question, yet far on into the ninth century the opposition still continued. Yet in the year 800 we shall find a Pope (not Hadrian but his next successor) taking the lead in the great revolution which severed Rome from Constantinople and broke the last links of allegiance that bound the Pope to the Eastern Caesar.

CHAPTER II.

THE PONTIFICATE OF HADRIAN I.

Italian Affairs.

Sources :—

Our principal, often our sole authority for the history of Italy during the twenty-one years from 774 to 795 is to be found in the ill-spelt, ungrammatical letters of Hadrian contained in the CODEX CAROLINUS. Diplomatic correspondence of this kind is valuable, from its absolutely contemporary character, but it often tantalises us by telling us the beginning and the middle of a dispute but saying nothing as to its end; and it is of course essentially the work of a partisan, and its statements must therefore be accepted with caution. Continually we have to regret that the Codex Carolinus contains only the Pope's letters to the King, and not the King's replies, which would certainly have lighted up a hundred obscurities.

As the course of the narrative for the rest of the volume will often lead us to the two ducal capitals of Benevento and Spoleto, I venture to refer the reader to the description of those two cities given in my sixth volume, pp. 63 to 70 and 83 to 89.

For the history of Benevento at this time we get some valuable information from ERCHEMPERT, who wrote a 'Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum,' beginning with the overthrow of the Lombard monarchy in 774 and ending with 889. Erchempert, who was of Lombard extraction, and was probably born about 865, was the son of Adelgarius, a nobleman of Teano, and was brought by his father as a boy to the convent of Monte Cassino, 'an offering to St. Benedict.' Possibly he left the convent on account of the then threatened attack by the Saracens. He himself tells us that in 881 he was taken prisoner at 'Castrum

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Pilense,' a village not far from Teano, and 'stripped of all my goods acquired from my boyhood, was obliged to walk on foot before the heads of the horses to the city of Capua, where I abode as an exile, on the 23rd of August, 881.' The raiders in this case were not Saracens, but the soldiers of Pandonulf, count of Capua. Five years later, on his way from Monte Cassino to Capua, he was again made prisoner, this time by the Greeks. His horses and servants and all his goods were taken from him, and he alone with his tutor was left to pursue his journey on foot. From this mention of the tutor we infer that he was still a young man in 886.

It was the professed object of Erchempert to continue the Lombard history of Paulus Diaconus, and to record 'not the rule but the ruin, not the triumphs but the calamities' of his Lombard fellow countrymen. For the events of the middle of the ninth century he is a valuable witness. For those which happened at the end of the eighth century he is less trustworthy, but in the great dearth of contemporary Italian historians we cannot afford to neglect him altogether. I quote from the edition prepared by Waitz for the volume of Monumenta Germaniae Historica devoted to 'Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum,' saec. vi–ix.

About a century later than Erchempert, a Benedictine monk of Salerno wrote the CHRONICON SALERNITANUM (published in Pertz, Monumenta, vol. iii. 468–561). This anonymous author copies frequently from the Liber Pontificalis, Erchempert, and biographies of saints. So far, of course, his work has no value; and his chronology is often grievously at fault; but he sometimes copied contemporary inscriptions, and he has preserved a good many curious, if utterly inaccurate, local traditions. Altogether his work may be most safely considered as on the border-land between history and romance. He writes of course with a strong Lombard-Beneventan bias.

Guide :—

Malfatti (Imperatori e Papi, vol. ii) treats the whole pontificate of Hadrian with great fulness. He is by no means an admirer of this Pope.

Charles, king of the Lombards.

WHEN Louis XVIII recovered the throne of his ancestors after the downfall of Napoleon, he said—or

some astute person said for him—'Rien n'est changé : il n'y a qu'un Français de plus.'

Something like this seems to have been the attitude of Charles the Great in 774 towards his new Italian conquest. There was no attempt to force the Lombard nation into the Frankish mould. Their laws were left substantially unchanged. Even the administration of those laws was often left in Lombard hands. Of the counts, who for the most part superseded the Lombard *gastalds*, many probably belonged to the conquered nation; nor does there appear to have been any extensive confiscation of the estates of the Lombard nobles. The authority which Charles now wielded (and which he doubtless meant, as he had leisure to extend his dominion, to wield over the whole peninsula) was appropriately expressed by the new title which he used for twenty-six years, till it was superseded by one yet more majestic. He was now *Carolus Rex Francorum et Langobardorum atque Patricius Romanorum*. He was king of the Franks by inheritance from his father; king of the Lombards by conquest, but also, as far as we can see, by the general consent of the Lombard people, tired of the passionate weakness of Desiderius and glad to have the great Teutonic hero for their king. But he also now began to make systematic use of that title 'Patrician of the Romans' which Stephen II had bestowed upon his father, but which, so long as they held no territory south of the Alps, had been rather a burden than a delight to the Frankish sovereigns. Now that Charles was a great lord in Italy, it was worth while to try what rights were slumbering in that venerable designation, which the Popes had

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almost forced upon his family, but which now might be available for keeping the Pope himself in his proper place, as well as for winning the obedience of the non-Teutonic population of Italy.

Partial disappointment of the Pope.

It is not easy to ascertain what had been the ideal reconstitution of Italy which the Popes had floating before them when they invoked the intervention of the Frankish kings, but it is clear that the addition of the word 'Langobardorum' to Charles's royal titles by no means corresponded with their anticipations. It was soon seen that any one, were he ever so loyal a client of St. Peter, who claimed the rights of a Lombard king, must come into collision with the kingdom-cleaving designs of the Roman pontiff; and though expediency dictated the continued employment of such epithets as 'mellifluus' and 'a Deo servatus' in Hadrian's correspondence with Charles, we may be pretty sure that there were times when a full-bodied 'nefandissimus' or 'Deo odibilis' would have better expressed the Papal emotions. The history of Italy during the quarter of a century before us, is almost entirely the history of the strained relations between the two men, Charles and Hadrian, who had sworn eternal friendship over the corpse of St. Peter.

I. Complaints about Leo of Ravenna.

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I. First of all in this correspondence we are met by Hadrian's complaints of the arrogance and cupidity of Leo, archbishop of Ravenna. 'Soon after your return to Frank-land,' says the Pope, 'this man, with tyrannical and most insolent intent, turned rebel to St. Peter and ourselves. He has brought under his sway the following cities of the Emilia: Faenza, Forlimpopoli, Forli, Cesena, Bobbio, Comacchio, the

duchy of Ferrara, Imola and Bologna, asserting that they, together with the whole Pentapolis, were given to him by your Excellency; and he has sent his *missus*, Theophylact, through the Pentapolis, desiring to separate the citizens thereof from their service to us. These men, however, are not at all inclined to humble themselves under him, but wish to remain loyal to St. Peter and ourselves, as they were when Stephen II received from your pious father the keys of the cities of the Exarchate. But now that nefarious archbishop, detaining those cities of the Emilia in his own power, appoints such magistrates[1] as he chooses, expelling those whom we have appointed, and drawing all suits to Ravenna, to decide them according to his own pleasure. 774.

'Thus, to our great disappointment, your holy spiritual mother, the Roman Church, sustains a severe rebuff, and we ourselves are brought into great contempt, since the very territories which even in Lombard times we were known to govern with full powers, are now in your times being wrested from us by perverse and impious men, who are your rivals as much as ours. And, lo! this taunt is hurled in our teeth by many of our enemies, who say with scorn, 'How have you profited by the wiping out of the nation of the Lombards and by their being made subject to the Frankish realm? Behold, none of those promises which were made to you are fulfilled, and even the possessions which were aforetime granted by Pippin to St. Peter are now taken from you[2].'

Next year Leo made his appearance at Charles's 775.

[1] 'Actores.'

[2] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 51.

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775. court, and Hadrian, on being informed of his rival's visit, professed a joy which was certainly mingled with alarm. 'The Truth itself bears witness that we are always glad when we hear of any one approaching your royal footsteps. Had he informed us that he was about to enter your presence we would gladly have sent one of our own envoys[1] along with him[2].'

Oct. 27, 775. In the letter which follows this, a grave charge of disloyalty is brought against the detested archbishop. John, the patriarch of Grado, had sent an important letter to the Pope, probably announcing the imminent rebellion of Hrodgaud, count of Friuli. This letter as soon as it arrived in Rome was copied and sent off to Charles, both Hadrian and his clerk feeling the matter to be of so great importance that they would not touch meat or drink till they had despatched it to their patron. The letter however, on its way through Ravenna, had been tampered with by Archbishop Leo, who had broken the seals and re-directed it to the Pope. Hadrian roundly accused him of having done this in order that he might communicate the contents to Arichis, duke of Benevento, and Charles's other enemies, an accusation which was probably quite destitute of truth[3].

In a postscript to this letter Hadrian asserts that the archbishop of Ravenna was puffed up with intolerable pride on his return from the Frankish court. The old complaints about his lawless proceedings in the Emilia and his vain attempts to seduce the men of the Pentapolis from their loyalty to St. Peter are renewed, and it is asserted that some of the judges who had been appointed by the Pope in the cities

[1] 'Missi.' [2] Ep. 54. [3] Ep. 55.

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of the Emilia are actually kept in bonds by the arrogant archbishop. In November of the same year these charges are repeated in a more definite manner[1]: 'We sent our treasurer Gregory to bring the magistrates of those cities hither, and to receive the oaths of fidelity of the citizens, but Leo would not allow him to continue his journey. Then there was Dominicus [possibly a Frankish official], whom you yourself recommended to us in the church of St. Peter, and whom we appointed count of the little city of Gabellum[2], giving him our written authority to govern that city[3]. This man was prevented from exercising his office by Leo, who sent an army, brought him bound to Ravenna, and still keeps him in custody there. Puffed up with pride, he refuses, as aforetime, to obey our commands, and by the strong arm keeps possession of Imola and Bologna, declaring that you did in no wise grant those cities to St. Peter, but to him: and as to the remaining cities of Emilia, namely Faenza, the Duchy of Ferrara, Comacchio, Forli, Forlimpopoli, Cesena, Bobbio and Tribunatus-decimo[4], he allows none to come forth or to bring their actions to be pleaded before us, though they were all ready to seek our presence.'

'As to all the other citizens of both the regions called Pentapolis[5], from Rimini to Gubbio, all come freely to us to have their suits decided and abide loyally

[1] Ep. 56.

[2] Apparently near Rovigo, about forty miles NW. of Ravenna.

[3] 'Praeceptum ejusdem civitatis illi tribuentes.'

[4] I have not met with any identification of this place. Probably it should be looked for on one of the roads at the tenth Roman milestone from Ravenna.

[5] 'Pentapolis Maritima and Pentapolis Annonaria.'

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in our service. Only that archbishop stands aloof in his ferocity and pride.'

Here, in November, 775, the correspondence leaves the question of the Exarchate. We see Hadrian, notwithstanding the cession of territory which was undoubtedly made by the Lombard king to his predecessor Stephen II, quite unable to assert his rights over Ravenna itself and the province of Emilia which lay to the west of it. In the Pentapolis, however, the provinces between the Adriatic and Apennines to the south of Ravenna, the Pope can reckon on the loyal subjection of the people, who probably, with that tendency towards municipal isolation and jealousy which was so marked a feature of the civic life of Italy, had their own reasons for hating Ravenna and preferring the distant Hadrian to the near and insistent Leo [1]. There is no evidence that matters mended for the Papal jurisdiction during the rest of the life of Leo, but on the death of that 'ferocious' archbishop, which probably occurred in June, 777, a successor was appointed, John VII [2], who apparently arranged terms of reconciliation with the Papal See.

II. Case of the Duchy of Spoleto

II. Another burning question at this time, and one in which the Papal rights are more obscure than in the case of the Exarchate, is that of the duchy of Spoleto. A review of the various statements about this Umbrian province, so important to the consolidation of the Papal dominions, leads us to the conclusion that there was here a genuine misunderstanding, in the literal sense of the word, between the Pope and

[1] This is the remark of Malfatti, ii. 134.

[2] According to Amadesi (Antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxia) this archbishop should be called John VIII.

his powerful friend. As far back as the spring of 757 both Spoleto and Benevento had made some sort of 'commendation' of themselves to Pippin, blending the Pope's name with his in a manner highly suggestive of future controversies [1]. But Pippin, who in 758 had to lead an army against the Saxons, and from 760 to the end of his reign was involved in the arduous struggle with Waifar of Aquitaine, had no mind to leave these urgent affairs in order to cross the Alps and vindicate a shadowy supremacy over those distant Apennine provinces. Thus the matter remained, save that Desiderius made both Spoleto and Benevento feel the curb of their Lombard overlord more tightly than any prince since the days of Liutprand. In the crisis of the fate of the Lombard kingdom, the Spoletans 773-4. deserted the cause of their nation and put themselves under the protection of the Pope [2], to whom the new duke Hildeprand swore fealty, his predecessor Theodicius having possibly fallen fighting for Desiderius against the Franks. This commendation of Spoleto to the Pope is, as we have seen, confirmed by a document of the year 774 [3], which is dated by no regnal year either of Frank or Lombard, but 'in the times of the thrice blessed and angelic lord, Hadrian, pontiff and universal Pope.'

It was with the consciousness of this peaceful victory won by the Church that Hadrian met Charles on the

[1] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 11 (Stephen II to Pippin): 'Nam et Spoletini ducatus generalitas per manus beati Petri et tuum fortissimum brachium constituerunt sibi ducem. Et tam ipsi Spoletini quamque etiam Beneventani omnes se commendare *per nos* a Deo servatae excellentiae tuae cupiunt, et imminent anhelantius in hoc deprecandum bonitatem tuam.'

[2] See vol. vii. p. 372.

[3] c (or 91) in Registrum Farfense.

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steps of St. Peter's on the 6th of April, 774. It seems probable that whatever may have been left unsaid or undefined, the Pope did mention his recent acquisition of the lordship of Spoleto, and that Charles did at the time consent to his retaining it, or was understood by Hadrian so to have consented. Not otherwise, as it seems to me, can we explain the clear statement made by Hadrian in a letter written about eighteen months afterwards to the Frankish king: 'Moreover you offered the duchy of Spoleto itself, in your own proper person, to St. Peter, Prince of Apostles, through our Insignificance and for the ransom of your soul[1].'

But to establish the Papal claim to Spoleto it was necessary that the new duke and his people should give their consent to its recognition, and this, notwithstanding their recent oath of fealty, they appear to have stubbornly refused. After the fall of the Lombard monarchy there was no longer any need to seek the protection of the Pope against the wrath of Desiderius, and both prince and people preferred to be under the yoke of the brilliant Teutonic warrior who called himself *Rex Langobardorum*, rather than under that of the unwarlike priest who could scarcely open his lips without showing his detestation of 'the unutterable Lombards.' Hence it comes to pass that in January, 776, we find in a donation to the monastery of Farfa[2] 'Hildeprandus gloriosus et summus dux ducatus Spoletani' dating the document by the year of the reign of 'Charles, the most excellent king of the

[1] 'Quia et ipsum Spoletinum ducatum vos praesentaliter offeruistis protectori vestro beato Petro principi apostolorum per nostram mediocritatem pro animae vestrae mercede.' Ep. 57 (end of 775).

[2] Regesto di Farfa, cvi. (93).

Franks and the Lombards, in the second year, by Divine favour, of his reign in Italy.' And the same mode of dating (a clear indication that Charles and none other was Hildeprand's overlord) is found in two other documents of 776 and five of the year 777 [1]. BK. IX. CH. 2.

III. Not only in Spoleto was the newly-won Papal power endangered. It will be remembered that near the sources of the Tiber, on the Tuscan side of the Apennines, the little 'Castle of Happiness' [2] had commended itself to Hadrian's protection. Here too the claims of St. Peter were being trampled under foot. 'We must tell you,' wrote the Pope to the King [3], 776. 'that that perfidious man, sower of tares and rival of the great Tempter of the human race, Raginald, formerly *gastald* in the Castellum Felicitatis, who appears now to be duke of Clusium, is by his unjust proceedings doing great harm to your holy mother the Church. For he seeks to wrest from us all the possessions which your Excellency offered to the Prince of the Apostles for the ransom of your soul, and to bring them into bondage to himself. Hastening with his army to our city, Castellum Felicitatis, he has carried off its inhabitants. I can in no wise believe that your Royalty, strengthened by God, together with our most excellent daughter the queen and your sweetest children, and all the God-marshalled army of the Franks, wrought the late mighty change in Italy for the exaltation of this duke Raginald, and not rather for the support of the holy Church of God III. Case of Castellum Felicitatis.

[1] Regesto di Farfa, cvii, cix, cxi, cxii, cxiii, cxiv, cxv.

[2] Castellum Felicitatis, now Città di Castello.

[3] Ep. 60 (February (?), 776).

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'Therefore I pray and beseech you, for the love of St. Peter, not to allow the aforesaid Raginald (who was of old time a sower of strifes and scandals under King Desiderius) to remain in the regions of Tuscany nor to hold any delegated functions from you [1].'

This is a type of many letters from Hadrian which were addressed to the Frankish king during the first two years after his Italian campaign. Endless complaints of the unutterably wicked and diabolical neighbours of the Pope, perpetual reminders of the faith solemnly plighted over the body of St. Peter, words of honeyed sweetness for Charles himself, for Hildegard, for the little princes and princess [2], and the divinely-protected army of the Franks, but also faithful warnings of the punishment which will overtake the king at the last day if he has allowed any one of the rights of his patron St. Peter to fall to the ground,—such are the ever-recurring themes of the Papal correspondence.

There are indications that this monotony of grumbling severely tried the long-suffering patience of Charles. He had done as much for the Pope and for himself also in Italy as suited his present purpose. The care of the Saxon war hung heavy upon his soul, and did not seem likely soon to be lifted from it. That also was surely an enterprise pleasing in the sight of God and St. Peter, for had he not solemnly vowed in his palace at Quierzy to prosecute ceaseless war with the Saxons till they should either become Christians or be

Jan. 775.

[1] 'Sed neque illum ei agendum cedatis.'

[2] Pippin the hunchback, Charles, and Hrotrud; all the children yet born.

swept from the face of the earth[1]? And now when he returned weary and war-worn to his 'villa' on the Oise or the Roehr[2] he was sure to find some smooth-shaven, dark ecclesiastic from Rome, bearing one of these querulous letters from the Pope, and importuning Charles to lead an army across the Alps in order to enforce the ever-growing 'justitiae' of St. Peter in the Exarchate or Spoleto or Tuscany.

IV. Case of the Pope's messengers, Gausfrid and Anastasius.

IV. Not only were the letters irritating; the men who bore them were not always well chosen, and sometimes failed in proper respect towards the most powerful prince in Europe. In 774, soon after Charles's return from Italy, the Pope sent as his representative his chamberlain Anastasius, commending him to the royal favour. How that mission sped we know not, but next year Anastasius was again sent on a similar errand, and this time he was accompanied by a certain Lombard named Gausfrid[3] of Pisa, who had taken refuge in Rome with a story, probably untrue, of an attempt to assassinate him, at the instigation of a Lombard duke named Allo. 'Pray receive Gausfrid kindly,' said Hadrian, 'for the love of St. Peter and because we ask it of you, and deign to grant him the help of your favour and protection. We add also this request, that the generous exercise of your authority should secure him in the possession of those farms which you have bestowed upon him[4].'

[1] 'Cum rex in villa Carisiaco hiemaret, consilium iniit, ut perfidam ac foedifragam Saxonam gentem bello adgrederetur, et eo usque perseveraret, dum aut victi Christianae religioni subjicerentur, aut omnino tollerentur' (Einhardi Annales, s. a. 775).

[2] Carisiacum (Quierzy); Duria (Düren).

[3] Or Gaidifrid.

[4] Ep. 52.

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This recommendation appears to have been a blunder on Hadrian's part. His next letter was in reply to one from Charles which told him that Gausfrid was a detected swindler, who for his frauds had been dismissed from the royal service[1], and who had bribed the king's notary to issue forged letters of grant in the royal name, probably with reference to those very farms for his quiet possession of which Hadrian interceded. The Pope pleads, no doubt truthfully, his entire ignorance of these deceitful practices of his client, and hopes that no scandal may be thereby engendered between him and his royal friend, but the incident was not likely to improve the relations between the two potentates.

Even more serious was the difficulty caused at the same time by the insolence of the chamberlain Anastasius, who in pleading his master's cause (probably with reference to the affairs of Ravenna and Spoleto) used such 'intolerable' words that the anger of the high-minded king was raised, and putting him in custody he refused to allow the chamberlain to return to Rome[2]. What were these intolerable words? It seems highly probable that they amounted to a charge of breach of faith on the part of the Frankish king, a charge which the Teutonic warrior would resent more fiercely than one of the crowned diplomatists of Constantinople, and of which perhaps even the Roman courtier scarcely felt the whole insulting significance. Here, as in the inter-

[1] This is rather a conjecture than a positive fact.

[2] 'Illud vero quod de Anastasium (*sic*) missum nostrum nobis indicastis, quod aliqua inportabilia verba quae non expediebat vobis locutus fuisset, unde valde tristi (*sic*) effecti fuistis et pro hoc adhuc apud vos eum detinetis, nimis noster fraglat (*sic*) animus' (Ep. 53).

view at St. Peter's and all the transactions between Pope and King which rested on oral communications, we have once more to remember that the difference of language opened a wide door to mutual misunderstandings. Charles could read Latin, it is true, but we have on evidence that he spoke it fluently, and Hadrian, a Roman of the Via Lata, of course never demeaned himself to learn the barbarous Frankish tongue. 775.

The Pope bitterly complained of the detention of his envoy, which, as he said, lowered him in the eyes of the Lombards and the citizens of Ravenna, making them think that he had altogether fallen out of Charles's favour. 'Never since the beginning of the world,' as he averred, 'had it been known that an envoy of St. Peter, great or small, had been detained by any nation': an assertion which might safely be made for the centuries intervening between the creation of the world and the Christian era. He prayed that Anastasius might be sent back to Rome: 'We will most severely enquire into the matter, and correct him according to his ascertained guilt.'

We hear in a later epistle[1] of the return of Anastasius, but have no hint of his trial or punishment. Probably when the hot blood of the Frank had cooled, Charles perceived that it was better not to insist on the punishment of the Pope's too zealous representative.

V. Affair of Hrodgaud of Friuli and the alleged

V. Towards the end of 775, Hadrian was thrown into alarm by the rumours of an impending combination of Lombards and Byzantines against himself and his Frankish patron. Hrodgaud, a Lombard whom Charles

[1] Ep. 54.

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had allowed to remain as duke of Friuli, was probably the soul of this combination, perhaps its only zealous member: but Hadrian believed that Hildeprand of Spoleto[1], Arichis of Benevento, and his special foe Raginald of Clusium, were all working for the meditated revolution, and were all in communication with the Emperor at Constantinople, at whose court Adelchis, the dethroned son of Desiderius, was residing, an honoured guest[2]. It is possible that some such combination was being formed, and that the death of Constantine Copronymus (which happened on the 14th of September, 775) struck the keystone out of the arch and relieved Charles from serious peril: but we have as yet only the word of Hadrian for the fact, and as far as Hildeprand and Arichis are concerned, it is probable that he accused them unjustly.

Anti-Frankish confederacy. 775.

Evidently Charles thought, and had reason for thinking, that if he could free himself from the embarrassing schemes of the ambitious Hadrian he could settle the affairs of Central Italy by negotiation, better than by the sword. He sent two envoys, the Bishop Possessor and the Abbot Radigaud, into Italy, but not in the first place to Rome. Hadrian, who knew that such an embassy was coming, waited for it (as he told Charles[3]) through September and October, on into November, but waited in vain. He wrote to the governor whom Charles had installed at Pavia, and received only the chilling reply, 'The king's envoys are not coming to you': a reply which filled him with

Embassy of Possessor and Radigaud.

[1] Who is Hildibrandus in the Papal letters. I preserve the Lombard form with its characteristic *tenuis* 'p.'

[2] Ep. 58.

[3] Ep. 56.

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sorrow. The next article of his indictment against the ambassadors (for he persisted in professing to believe that the ambassadors were in fault and not their master) must be told in his own words[1]:—

'We were very desirous to receive your Excellency's envoys with due honour, and through them to be satisfied of your safety. Wherefore we made all the preparations which became your royal dignity, and sent horses on the road to meet them. But they, when they had arrived at Perugia, instead of coming right on to us—as you had enjoined them and as your letters to us set forth—despising us, went to Hildeprand at Spoleto, sending us word to this effect: "We are only going to converse with Hildeprand, and then, according to our orders, we will visit you at [the shrine of] our Apostolic Lord."

'Afterwards, when they had talked with the aforesaid Hildeprand and were tarrying long time with him, we directed to them our apostolic letters to this effect: "By Almighty God and the life of our most excellent son the great King Charles[2], pray come to us at once that we may talk over the things which concern the exaltation of the Church and the praise of our King. Then we will leave you to go according to your orders to Benevento." But they, we know not on what errand, went immediately from Spoleto to Benevento, leaving us in great disgrace, and have thereby increased the insolence of the Spoletans towards us.

[1] Ep. 57.

[2] 'Et vitam excellentissimi filii nostri domni Caroli *magni regis*.' I am bound to quote this passage, as it to some extent rebuts the argument which I have founded elsewhere on the use of 'Carolus magnus rex' in the alleged donation.

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'We pray you to remember, sweetest and most loving son, with what extreme kindness you addressed us, when you had hastened to the thresholds of St. Peter and St. Paul, saying that it was not in quest of gold or jewels, or silver, or letters (?), or men, that you and your God-protected army had undergone so great labour, but only to insist on the recovery of the rights of St. Peter, the exaltation of Holy Church, and our safety.

'As if actually present before your royal honey-flowing glances, we beg of you speedily to comfort and gladden us in the deep depression into which we have been thrown by the conduct of your envoys. Moreover, you yourself offered the duchy of Spoleto to St. Peter through us for the ransom of your soul[1]. Therefore we earnestly pray you speedily to deliver us and the aforesaid duchy of Spoleto from this affliction, that by the intercession of St. Peter you may receive your due reward from our most merciful God.'

At last the long-expected messengers, Possessor and Radigaud, arrived in Rome, charged by Hildeprand with apologies and entreaties for forgiveness[2]. Far from obtaining his pardon, they had doubtless enough to do to shield themselves from the storm of Hadrian's reproaches. He sent a messenger, his treasurer Stephen, to Spoleto, who returned with more circumstantial accounts of the great impending invasion.

All the four dukes, in combination with the 'mob of the Greeks[3] and the exiled Adelchis, were going to swarm over land and sea to the attack on the *Ducatus Romae*. The City was to be stormed, all the churches to

[1] The sentence quoted verbatim *ante*, p. 30.

[2] Ep. 58. [3] 'In unum conglobant cum caterva Graecorum.'

be sacked, the precious jewelled canopy[1] of St. Peter's tomb was to be carried off, 'we ourselves—which God forbid!—to be carried captive,' the kingdom of the Lombards to be restored, and Charles's power in Italy to be destroyed. BK. IX. CH. 2. 775.

Hadrian sent up a piteous cry for help: 'Do not leave us alone, nor postpone your consolation: lest the nations that are in all the world should say, "Where is the confidence of the Romans, which after God they placed in the king and kingdom of the Franks?" Redeem those pledges which with your own hands you offered to God for the salvation of your soul, that in the great day of future judgment you may be able to say, "O my lord Peter! Prince of Apostles! I have finished my course; I have kept my faith towards thee; I have defended the Church of God committed to thee by Almighty goodness, and have freed her from the hands of her enemies. And now standing without spot before thee I offer to thee thy sons, whose deliverance from the power of the enemy thou didst commit to my hands. Lo! here they are, safe and sound." Thus shalt thou, who holdest the reins of power in this present life, be permitted to reign with Christ in the life to come, hearing that welcome voice of His, "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."'

VI. Charles did march into Italy in the early part of 776, but his campaign, of which we have most meagre notices from the annalists, was all conducted within sight of the Alps. It seems to have been while he was keeping VI. Overthrow of Hrodgaud, 776.

[1] 'Ciborium.'

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his Christmas (775) at Schlettstadt in Alsace that news was brought to him that 'Hrodgaud, the Lombard whom he had himself given as duke to the men of Friuli, was making a rebellion in Italy,' had declared himself king, and that many cities had revolted to him. He judged speed to be necessary for the repression of this uprising, and accordingly, having collected his bravest soldiers, he marched with haste into Italy, slew Hrodgaud, recovered Friuli, Treviso, and all the other cities which had rebelled, established Frankish counts in them, kept his Easter at Treviso, and then returned into Frank-land with the same speed with which he had come[1]. Scarcely had he recrossed the Alps when he heard that the fortress of Eresburg had been taken by the Saxons, and the garrison of Franks expelled therefrom[2]. Then followed one of Charles's splendid storm-sweeping marches over the land, his arrival at the sources of the Lippe-stream, and his meeting there with a vast number of the natives, who, cowering in fear, prayed his pardon for their rebellion, and were baptized by thousands in the waters of the Lippe. A conversion on a larger scale than any that rewarded the preaching of the first Apostles, but less durable in its results.

It was probably in part the fear of impending troubles in Saxon-land which caused King Charles to hasten his return across the Alps without paying the often-talked-

[1] It is generally supposed that it was in connection with this unsuccessful rebellion of Hrodgaud that Arichis, brother of Paulus Diaconus, lost his liberty and property (see vol. v. p. 74). This however is only a conjecture, as we have no express statement to that effect.

[2] Annales Einhardi, s. a. 776, combined with Annales Laurissenses.

of visit to Rome. Yet not entirely: the diplomacy which detached Spoleto and Benevento at this critical conjuncture from the threatened anti-Frankish confederacy had probably accomplished its purpose at the cost of some sacrifice of the Papal claims. As to Benevento, indeed, it is impossible for us to say what were the precise relations existing at this time between him who now called himself *Prince* of that city, Arichis, son-in-law of Desiderius, and the Frankish sovereign. But as we have already seen, Hildeprand of Spoleto seems to have remained satisfied with a condition, practically, of vassalage under Charles, and the negotiations carried on with him through the medium of Possessor and Radigaud had probably guaranteed him against any enforcement by Frankish arms of the claims of Papal sovereignty which he now set at defiance.

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VII. Two years' break in the correspondence, 776–778.

VII. It can hardly be doubted that at this time the relations between Pope and Emperor were strained almost to the point of breaking. There is an ominous interval of more than two years in the correspondence copied in the Codex Carolinus. Either no letters passed between the estranged allies in the period between February 776 and May 778, or those which were written and received were so bitter in their tone—like the 'insupportable' words of Anastasius—that, when the reconciliation took place, they were by common consent blotted out of the book of remembrance.

Was the Papal claim to sovereignty at

It is to this interval that a recent enquirer[1] assigns the signature of a 'convention' whereby Hadrian renounced all claim to sovereignty in Spoleto and

[1] Martens (Die Römische Frage, 159–172).

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this time abandoned?

Tuscany, in consideration of certain yearly revenues to be paid to him out of the taxes of those two provinces. The evidence for this 'convention' rests on the alleged confirmation contained in the grant of Louis the Pious to Pope Paschal in 817, which has been before referred to[1]. It is certainly possible so to interpret that document, but its language is perhaps intentionally obscure, and would be consistent with an entirely different series of transactions between Pope and King, nor is there anything which fixes the date of the 'convention' to the year 777 or 778.

But however we may by our conjectures fill up this mysterious interval in the correspondence of the two statesmen, it is certain that after that interval is passed the correspondence begins again on an entirely different footing. Still is the Pope urgent for the satisfaction of the claims of St. Peter, still are the joys of heaven and the terrors of hell invoked to keep the Frankish sovereign up to the required pitch of devotion to the Apostolic service, but from this point onward the word 'patrimonies,' for which we have hitherto looked almost

[1] The so-called *Ludovicianum* (at the end): 'Simili modo . . . firmamus donationes quas . . . Pippinus rex avus noster et postea Karolus imperator beato Petro apostolo . . . confirmaverunt, necnon et censum et pensionem seu ceteras donationes, quae annuatim in palatium regis Longobardorum inferri solebant sive de Tusciâ Longobardorum sive de ducatu Spoletino, sicut in suprascriptis donationibus continetur et inter sanctae memoriae Adrianum papam et domnum ac genitorem nostrum Karolum imperatorem convenit, quando idem pontifex eidem de suprascriptis ducatibus, id est Tuscano et Spoletino suae auctoritatis praeceptum confirmavit, eo scilicet modo, ut annis singulis praedictus census ecclesiae beati Petri persolvatur, *salvâ super eosdem ducatus nostrâ in omnibus dominatione, et illorum ad nostram partem subjectione.*'

in vain in the earlier letters, is of continual occurrence. Claims of territorial sovereignty seem to be tacitly abandoned, and the one constant demand of the Pope is that the landed estates, which have been violently torn from him or his predecessors in the days of the Lombard oppression, shall now be restored to the Holy Church of God, which is ready to produce the necessary vouchers and title-deeds to show that they are rightfully hers.

VIII. Allusion to the 'Donation of Constantine.'

VIII. Yet, though this is the general character of the correspondence, we find with some surprise, in the very first letter after communications are re-opened, an allusion—the first allusion in any authentic document—to the imaginary donation of Constantine. After expressing his regrets that Charles has not been able to fulfil his promise of coming to Rome at the Easter of 778 and bringing his infant son Carloman to be baptized, Hadrian continues: 'And as in the time of St. Silvester the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of Rome was exalted by the generosity of the most pious Constantine, the great Emperor, of holy memory, and he deigned to bestow on it power in these regions of Hesperia, so in these times, which are so prosperous for you and for us, may the Holy Church of God, that is of the blessed Apostle Peter, grow and flourish and be more than more[1] exalted, that all the nations when they hear of it may shout, "O Lord, save the King, and hear us in the day when we call upon Thee, for, lo, a new and most Christian Emperor Constantine has arisen in our day, through

[1] 'Amplius quam amplius exaltata.'

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whom God has been pleased to bestow all gifts on His Holy Church[1].'"

We surely cannot be mistaken in thinking that this passage, with its pointed allusion to 'the regions of Hesperia,' refers to the celebrated fictitious document which was discussed in a previous chapter. But the Pope in this same letter goes on to claim, not widespread territorial sovereignty, but the restitution of 'those possessions which Emperors, Exarchs[2], and other God-fearing men have for the good of their souls bestowed on the Church in the regions of Tuscany, Spoleto, Benevento and Corsica, together with the Sabine patrimony. Let these possessions, which have been abstracted by the unutterable Lombards through long periods of years, be restored in your days. We have many deeds of donation relating to these in our *bureau* at the Lateran[3]; and these for your satisfaction we have sent by our aforesaid *missi*. We pray your Excellency therefore to order the patrimonies in their entirety to be restored to St. Peter and ourselves. So may the Prince of Apostles plead before the tribunal of Almighty God for your safety and long life and the exaltation of your kingdom.'

The language of such a letter seems quite clear. It is specific estates—of vast extent it is true—secured by special title-deeds, not the sovereignty of two-thirds of Italy, for which the Pope here pleads in the name of St. Peter.

IX. Distressed condition of Italy.

IX. The Pope speaks here of 'these days of your and our prosperity.' The times seem to have been

[1] Ep. 61.

[2] 'Patricii.'

[3] 'Unde et plures donationes in sacro nostro scrinio Lateransae (*sic*) reconditas habemus.'

less prosperous for the people than for their rulers. There was a terrible earthquake (778) in the territory of Treviso, by which many persons perished; forty-eight, we are told, in a single night in one village[1]. 'Great tribulations,' says a ninth-century chronicler, 'fell upon Italy after the Frankish conquest: by the sword, by famine, by wild beasts many persons perished, so that some towns and villages were left altogether bare of inhabitants[2].' Hadrian himself in a singular way bears unconscious witness to the same fact, the misery of the people. It seems that Charles had enquired as to an ugly rumour which had come to his ears that Roman citizens were engaged in selling slaves to 'the unspeakable Saracens.' Such a charge in the 'honey-flowing' letter of his illustrious friend was passionately repelled by Hadrian[3]: 'Never have we fallen into such wickedness, nor has any such deed been done with our permission. It is true that the unspeakable Greeks have traded along the Lombard shore and bought families from thence, and have formed a friendship for slave-trading purposes with the Lombards themselves. Wherefore we ordered duke Allo[4] to prepare many ships that he might capture the Greeks and burn their fleet, but he refused to obey our commands. As for us, we have neither ships nor sailors to catch them with. But God is our witness that we have done all that we could to repress this mischief, for we ordered the ships of the Greeks that were in our harbour of Centumcellae[5] to be burned, and we detained the crews

Alleged slave trade with the Saracens.

[1] Chronicon Moissiacense, ap. Pertz, i. 296.
[2] Andreas Bergomatensis, ap. Pertz, iii. 233.
[3] Ep. 64.
[4] Probably a Tuscan duke; cf. Ep. 52.
[5] Civita Vecchia.

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in prison for a long time. But the Lombards themselves, as we have been told, *constrained by hunger*, have sold many families into slavery. And others of the Lombards have of their own accord gone on board the slave-ships of the Greeks, *because they had no other hope of a livelihood.*'

778–795.

The chronological order of the letters which relate to the seventeen years now before us is so uncertain that it will be better to deal with them in their geographical relations.

X. Affairs of Istria.

X. We begin with the province of Istria, that long peninsula studded with cities which crowns the Adriatic gulf, and which played such an important part in the long controversy concerning the Three Chapters[1]. Here, as we learn from a letter of Hadrian[2], the bishop Maurice, a loyal adherent of the Roman See, was employed to collect certain revenues due to St. Peter and transmit them to Rome. A suspicion arose that in his journeyings to and fro on these errands he was secretly stirring up the inhabitants to throw off the Byzantine yoke and acknowledge themselves subjects of Charles. The 'most nefarious Greeks' together with some of the natives of Istria arrested him, and in Byzantine fashion plucked out his eyes. He escaped to Rome, and the Pope sent him to Marcarius, duke of Friuli, at the same time addressing a letter to Charles begging him, as he valued his soul, to order Marcarius to reinstate him in his bishopric. As Istria was still a province of the Empire, it is not easy to see how this could be done without an actual declaration of war.

[1] See Book vi. chap. 11. [2] Ep. 65 (between 776 and 780).

XI. Venetia.

XI. We pass from Istria to the Venetian Islands, not yet the Venice of medieval history, for the city on the Rialto was still unbuilt, and Heraclea and Equilium were the chief cities of the confederation [1]. After the fall of the Exarchate, followed by the overthrow of its Lombard conquerors, the Venetians seem to have clung more tightly than ever to their connection with Constantinople, and to have been willing, in their loyalty to the Empire, to brave even the anger of the Pope. 'We beg to bring to the notice of your Excellency,' writes Hadrian to Charles [2], 'that as you in your day of triumph [3] directed that the Venetian traders should be expelled from the regions of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, we immediately sent our orders to those regions that we might give effect to your royal will. Moreover we have directed our precept to the archbishop of Ravenna, that wherever, in the lands subject to our sway, the Venetians hold either forts or property, he should absolutely expel them from thence, and resuming such possessions keep them in his own hands as property of the Church.'

XII. Ravenna.

XII. The expulsion of the Venetians, it will be seen, extended to Ravenna as well as to the Pentapolis. As we have no more complaints of the usurpations of the archbishop of Ravenna, it may be inferred that the successors of Leo were during this period accepting quietly the yoke of St. Peter. Here, however, as well as elsewhere, we have evidences of the extreme difficulty with which the Popes, with the scanty material

[1] See vol. vi. p. 484.

[2] Ep. 94 (784–791).

[3] 'In triumphis victoria': the allusion is obscure and the grammar hopeless.

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forces at their command, maintained the dominion which in theory was theirs. Strangely helpless is the letter[1] which Hadrian addresses to Charles in 783 concerning the wicked deeds of 'those foolish and useless triflers[2]' Eleutherius and Gregory, who appear to have been magistrates at Ravenna. 'In their insolent obstinacy they have been grievously oppressing the poor and weak inhabitants in their district[3], selling men into slavery among the pagan natives, and greedily devouring their bread without compassion. Moreover, collecting a crowd of base and bloody men, they have not ceased daily to perform shameful murders. Once, when mass was being celebrated in the church, at the same hour when the deacon was preaching the Gospel to the people, these most impious men were shedding innocent blood in the self-same sanctuary, accomplishing the murder of men instead of sacrifice to God. These men, puffed up in arrogance, are about to appear in your royal presence, and dare to cherish the hope that they will separate you from St. Peter and ourselves. Pray let their impertinence not be permitted to behold your glorious countenance smiling upon them, but send them back to us, dishonoured and disgraced, under the charge of your most faithful *missi*, that so you may be rewarded in the day of judgment by your patron St. Peter.'

The whole tenour of the communication indicates the strange, the almost indescribable, relation which existed between the Pope and the Frankish King of the Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. Ravenna

[1] Ep. 77.

[2] 'Ineptos atque inutiles nugaces.'

[3] *Judicaria*, a word which, as Malfatti remarks (ii. 187), has survived in the valleys of the Giudicarie, west of Trient.

was undoubtedly one of the cities included in the 'Donations' of Pippin and Charles. Here, if anywhere, the Pope, unless thwarted by the archbishop of the city, might claim to exercise jurisdiction as a sovereign. Yet even here he seems to be unable by his mere authority to punish magistrates who have so flagrantly abused their powers as Eleutherius and Gregory have done, and there is evidently a virtual right of appeal from his decision to that of the Frankish king.

In ecclesiastical matters, however, as we might expect, Hadrian takes a different tone. He absolutely refuses to admit Charles's claim to interfere in the election of a new archbishop of Ravenna[1]; he repels, almost with acrimony, the charge of the king's *missi* that he has connived at simoniacal practices in that church[2]; but on the other hand (though this is not a purely ecclesiastical affair), he graciously concedes to his royal friend the right to transport some of the mosaics of Ravenna to his palace at Aachen[3]. The letter[4] giving this permission is so curious that it deserves to be quoted:—

'We have received your bright and honey-sweet letters brought us by Duke Arwin. In these you expressed your desire that we should grant you the mosaics and marbles of the palace in the city of Ravenna, as well as other specimens to be found both on the pavement and on the walls [presumably of the churches]. We willingly grant your request, because, by your royal struggles, the church of your patron

[1] Ep. 88. [2] Ep. 98.

[3] The precise destination of the mosaics is not mentioned by Hadrian; but we find it in Einhard's life of Charles, c. 26.

[4] Ep. 89.

BK. IX. CH. 2. St. Peter daily enjoys many benefits, for which great will be your reward in heaven. By the hands of the same Arwin we have received one sound horse [1] sent to us by you. The other, which was despatched at the same time, died on the road. For your remembrance of us in this thing we return you thanks.

'But in consideration of the love which in our inmost heart we do bear towards your glorious kingdom, pray send us such splendid horses [2], shapely in bone and fulness of flesh, as may be worthy of our riding. Such animals, in all respects worthy of praise, will cause your illustrious name to shine in triumph; and for this you will receive your wonted and worthy reward from God's own apostle, so that after reigning in this world with the queen and your most noble progeny, you may deserve to obtain eternal life in the citadels of heaven [3].'

XIII. Spoleto. XIII. Travelling southward along the great Flaminian Way we come to the Umbrian duchy of Spoleto, where the Lombard Hildeprand, first the client and afterwards the pertinacious opponent of the Pope, held 774–789. sway for fifteen years after the fall of the Lombard monarchy. We have seen that, though recalcitrant to the yoke of St. Peter, he was willing, perhaps eager, to profess himself the loyal adherent of Charles. This dependent relation (which it is hardly permitted us yet to speak of technically as vassalage) was owned and emphasised when, in 779, Hildeprand, having crossed

[1] 'Equum utilem.' [2] 'Famosissimos equos.'

[3] 'In aetheris arcibus vitam aeternam adipisci mereamini.' These *arces aetheriae* are a favourite subject of allusion with Hadrian, who perhaps thought of Heaven as another Albanum or Tusculum.

the Alps, presented himself before Charles at the *villa* of Virciniacum[1] and offered great gifts to his lord[2]. We may reasonably conjecture that then at least, if not before, the Frankish king assured the Spoletan duke that his act of 'commendation' should protect him from all claims of a similar kind that might be urged against him by the bishop of Rome. With this state of things Hadrian had perforce to rest content, though it was certainly not without a pang that he saw himself constrained to abandon the project of adding the duchy of Spoleto to the territories on the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas which it would so admirably have welded together. But that he did thus accept his defeat seems to be shown by a letter[3] in which he submissively begs for the supply of certain woods which could be furnished only in the regions about Spoleto, and which were required for renewing the wainscotings[4] in the basilica of St. Peter.

We shall find Duke Hildeprand in the year 788 taking part with other Lombards and Franks in resisting a Byzantine invasion, probably on the coast of Apulia. In the next year (789) he died, and was succeeded, not by any Lombard, but apparently by a Frankish warrior named Winichis, who had taken a leading part in resisting the same invasion. This man was ruler of Spoleto during all the rest of the life of Charles, and at last, in 822, he resigned his ducal rank and retired into a monastery[5].

[1] Site doubtful: probably in Champagne, and not far from Compiègne.

[2] Einhardi Annales, s. a. 779.

[3] Ep. 67 (779–780). [4] 'Camarado, quod est ypochartosin.'

[5] 'Cataloga' at beginning of Regesto di Farfa: Einhardi Annales, s. a. 822.

XIV. Rome. Charles's second visit to the City, 781.

XIV. At Rome itself the chief events during the twenty-one years that we are now reviewing were the second and third visits of Charles to 'the threshold of the Apostles,' which took place in the years 781 and 787 respectively, each time at the great festival of Easter. We will deal here with the first of these visits.

He started from Worms in 780 to fulfil his long-delayed project of presenting his son Carloman to the Pope for baptism. He was accompanied by Hildegard, and by his two younger children, Carloman and Louis, the former three, and the latter two years old[1].

In the four years which had elapsed since Charles was last in Italy, quelling the revolt of Hrodgaud of Friuli, memorable events had happened. Besides the endless invasions of the land of the Saxons, he had removed his court and his army into the province of Aquitaine (April 778), had crossed the Pyrenees, besieged Saragossa, and suffered in his retreat at Roncesvalles, that great disaster to his rear-guard which will for ever be as world-famous in song as it is insignificant in history.

Having crossed the Alps, Charles took up his quarters in the old Lombard palace of Pavia, where the new *Rex Langobardorum* kept his stately Christmas. He lingered for some time in Upper Italy, where there were doubtless many disorders which needed his strong, reforming hand. On the 15th of March (781) he was at Parma, giving a charter to the merchants of

[1] Carloman (Pippin) was born in the latter part of 777; Louis (the Pious) between April and August, 778 (Abel, Jahrbücher, i. 318, 308).

Comacchio[1]. From thence he probably passed on to Mantua, where, (according to the generally received opinion,) he held a solemn *placitum* for the enactment of the decree which goes by the name of the *Capitulare Mantuanum*[2]. By Easter Day, 15 April, he was in Rome, face to face with Hadrian after seven years of absence and chilling correspondence. 781.

Baptism of Pippin.

We have no such detailed account of his entry into Rome as on his first and last visits to the City, but assuredly the Roman populace had no lack of gorgeous ceremonies on the occasion of this visit. In the first place, there was the baptism of the four-year-old son, who entered the baptistery as Carloman and emerged from it as Pippin, having received that royal name from his godfather Hadrian. Why the name was thus changed we are not informed, but it seems probable that it was in order to publish to the world that Pippin the Hunchback, son of Charles and Himiltrud, was on account of his deformity excluded from succession to the throne. It is noteworthy that after this ceremony Hadrian always studiously addresses Charles as his spiritual co-father[3], and Hildegard as spiritual co-mother, a designation which helps us to distinguish between the letters written before 781 and those subsequent to that date.

Coronation of Pippin and Louis.

After the baptism of Pippin, he and his baby brother Louis were crowned by the Pope, to denote that they

[1] Sickel, Acta Karolinorum K. 79 (quoted by Abel and Jaffé). It seems to have been during this visit to Parma that Charles first met his future friend and counsellor Alcuin (Vita Alcuini, cap. 6).

[2] Migne, Opera Car. Magni, i. 135.

[3] 'Compater': origin of the French 'compère' and of our 'chum.'

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had been named by their father as kings of Italy and Aquitaine respectively. It was perhaps not altogether politic on the part of Charles to give the Pope so prominent a place in the investiture of his sons with the regal dignity. A few more precedents of like kind, and the opinion might grow up that no one could be a rightful king of the Franks and Lombards who had not received his crown from the hands of the pontiff.

Embassy from Constantinople.

Again another sight for the spectacle-loving citizens of Rome. It was while Charles still abode in the City that the ambassadors of Irene, Constantine the Treasurer and Mamulus the Grand Chamberlain [1], entered it, doubtless with imperial pomp, in order to conclude the treaty of marriage between their young lord Constantine and the Frankish maiden Hrotrud [2]. One marvels how Hadrian comported himself between the representatives of the old and the new *régime*; between the ambassadors of the sovereign *de jure* and the visible sovereign *de facto*. It was indeed a strange complication. Here was the eunuch Elisha [3], whose name went back to the days of Hebrew prophets, come to instruct a daughter of the Franks in 'the language and literature of the Greeks and the customs observed in the monarchy of the Romans [4].' Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, the three languages of

[1] We get these names from Theophanes (A. M. 6274). The Annales Laureshamenses (ap. Pertz, i. 32) vouch for the arrival of the embassy during Charles's stay in Rome.

[2] See p. 11.

[3] 'Elissaeus.'

[4] *Καὶ γενομένης συμφωνίας καὶ ὅρκων ἀναμεταξὺ ἀλλήλων, κατέλιπεν Ἐλισσαῖον τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ νοτάριον πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτὴν τά τε τῶν Γραικῶν γράμματα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ παιδεῦσαι αὐτὴν τὰ ἤθη τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας* (Theophanes, l. c.).

the superscription on the cross, were blended in the commission of this envoy from Constantinople.

'The monarchy of the Romans'; that was still the name borne by the state whose centre was the city of Constantine, a name to which it could prove its right by an unquestioned pedigree. And here was the bishop of Rome, who till nine years before this time had dated all his documents by the year of the Byzantine sovereign[1], who had never been formally released from his allegiance to the Roman Emperor, who could not now plead that heresy unloosed all bonds (for Irene was an orthodox image-worshipper), treating probably the envoys from Constantinople as the representatives of a foreign though friendly power, and professing himself the comrade, friend, or subject of a certain 'Patrician of the Romans' who was also king of a German tribe settled on the lower Rhine. Alas! that no historian has recorded for us the artifices by which diplomacy veiled this strange entanglement.

Charles's return to Frankland.

Soon after Easter, Charles appears to have left Rome and to have journeyed leisurely through Upper Italy, visiting the monastery of his late uncle Carloman on Mount Soracte, settling disputed claims in the neighbourhood of Florence, making grants to ecclesiastics at Pavia and Brescia, assisting at the baptism of his youngest daughter Gisila at Milan, and finally

[1] The latest extant document in which a Pope dates by the years of an Eastern Emperor is xcviii (or 90) of the Regesto di Farfa, and is dated on the tenth day before the Kalends of March in the 53rd of Constantine V and the 21st of his son Leo IV, equivalent to A. D. 772. No similarly dated document is found after the revolution of 774. (See Abel, Jahrbücher, i. 471, n. 3.)

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returning across the Alps about the month of August [1]. This year 781 was one of those which were more especially dedicated by the great monarch to Italian affairs. He doubtless perceived that many disorders had crept into the Frankish administration of the country during the seven years that it had been deprived of 'the master's eye.' He now left it under the nominal vice-royalty of his son Pippin, the newly-crowned king of Italy. The child-king, still only four years old, was destined to grow up into a strong and capable if somewhat hot-tempered man. Meanwhile the kingdom was probably administered in his name by Frankish regents or governors, the name of one of whom, Rotchild, has been preserved to us. We hear very little as to his deeds or character, and that little is not favourable [2].

XV. Affairs of the monastery of Vulturno.

XV. Some weeks after Charles had left Rome and while he was still in Italy he received an interesting letter from the Pope [3]. 'We have greatly rejoiced,' says Hadrian, 'to receive your wise and God-inspired letters in which you say that your cause is ours and ours is yours. We trust that this truth, which has certainly been taught you by divine inspiration, will shine forth manifest to all men.' The Pope then goes on to describe the disputes which had arisen between the monks of the great monastery of St. Vincent on the Vulturno and their abbots. Of these abbots, one,

[1] For the dates of the various stages of his journey, see Abel, i. 386–389, 394.

[2] See Malfatti, ii. 270; Simson, Jahrbücher, ii. 436, n. 2; Waitz, iii. 537. Rotchild is called the *bajulus* of the young Pippin. *Bajulus*, in classical Latin a porter, is in medieval Latin used for a tutor.

[3] Ep. 68.

Autbert, had by Charles's command been summoned to Rome to justify himself before the Papal tribunal, but had died suddenly, worn out by the fatigues of the journey. A synod was then held at Rome to investigate a charge of treason against his rival and successor, Abbot Potho. Before this synod appeared the monk Rothgaud, and gave testimony as follows: 'My lord, when we were performing the service for Sexts, and according to custom were singing, for the safety of the king and his progeny, the psalm "Save me, O God, by Thy name," suddenly the abbot stood up and refused to sing. Afterwards, as we were walking together, the abbot began to say, "What do you think of our cause, for I expected to see a sign and have not seen it?"' Rothgaud uttered a pious commonplace about God's power to humble the heart of man, and the abbot (according to his statement) answered, 'If it were not for the monastery and my Beneventan land, I would hold him [King Charles] of no more account than one dog.' Then he added, 'There are only as many Franks left [in the country] as I could carry on my shoulders.'

781.

Abbot Potho being asked what he had to say in answer to this charge, said, 'Of course our congregation always prays for his Excellency and his children. But while I was at the service, when the prayers were ended and the boys began to sing "*Domine in nomine tuo salvum me fac*," I suddenly rose in order to attend to some business for the good of the monastery. As for our talk on the road, what I said was, "If it were not that it would seem like desertion of the monastery and its property, I should certainly go to some place where I need not care for anybody." As for the

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Franks, I said nothing at all of the kind which he alleges against me.'

Rothgaud was re-examined, and could produce no testimony in confirmation of his charge. He was alone with the abbot when the conversation took place. Evidence was given that he was himself a man of bad character, who having committed incest with his niece had been obliged to leave the priesthood and turn monk.

Then three monks who had belonged to the party of Autbert complained that they had been illegally detained and imprisoned to prevent them from resorting to Charles's court for justice. Potho replied that he certainly did station guards upon the bridge [over the Vulturno] to prevent these and all other monks from violating their rule and 'going back to their vomit in the world.'

The result of the trial was that Potho was acquitted on the oath of ten monks, five Franks and five Lombards, that they had never heard him utter any treasonable sentiments against King Charles's Excellency.

XVI. The Sabine Patrimony.

XVI. Many letters passed soon after this about the great affair of the Sabine Patrimony. Unfortunately neither they nor any of the chroniclers of the time appear to give us any precise indications of what this Sabine territory was. All that can be said is that it was situated in the neighbourhood of Rieti. We saw[1] that Liutprand restored to Pope Zacharias a Sabine territory of which the Popes had been de-

[1] Vol. vi. p. 492.

spoiled thirty years before. Possibly it had again fallen back into Lombard hands. What we know is that Charlès during his second visit to Rome appointed two *missi*, Itherius and Maginarius, to go with the Pope's envoys to investigate St. Peter's claim to the territory in question. They went, and assembled about a hundred men, who swore on the Virgin's altar that this patrimony had of old belonged to St. Peter and the Roman Church. But 'perverse and unjust men,' as the Pope complained, hindered the restitution of the patrimony. Letter after letter was sent. Hadrian declared that the imperial envoy, Maginarius, had seen the whole claim[1] of St. Peter to the territory, as it resulted both from old Imperial donations and from grants made by the insolent kings of the Lombards themselves, indicating the territory in question and the farms[2] belonging to it; a claim which even the faithless Desiderius himself had not dared to dispute in its totality, though he had denied it as to some individual farms. Hadrian quoted Scripture, 'Thy God hath commanded thy strength,' from the 68th Psalm, and —not too reverently—applied the opening verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews to God's marvellous working 'in these latter days' by the hand of Charles in favour of St. Peter[3]. At last after five letters[4] had been written, and probably a couple of years had elapsed, the royal *missi* were successful in completing the transfer of the Sabine patrimony to the Pope and

[1] 'Justitia.'

[2] 'Massae.'

[3] 'Multifariae (*sic*) multisque modis olim Deus loquens patribus in prophetis, novissime diebus istis per unigeniti sui magnifice (*sic*) operationis virtutem ostendit magnalia in orbe terrarum.'

[4] Epp. 70–74.

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setting up boundary-stones to mark off its precise limits where it touched the territory of Reate[1].

XVII. Benevento.

XVII. The chief anxiety of Hadrian during all these years came from the principality of Benevento on his southern border. Here was one of the hated Lombards, a son-in-law of the arch-enemy Desiderius, reigning in glory and in virtual independence. Extension of the *Ducatus Romae* in the direction of Campania, recovery of some of the lost patrimonies in the south of Italy, were both difficult while that strong and detested Lombard held the 'Samnite' principality. There was also a fear, perhaps a genuine fear, that some day, when Charles, the champion, was fighting far away in the forests of Saxon-land, the prince of Benevento might join forces with 'the most wicked' Greeks, besiege Rome by sea and land, 'and even carry us captives—God forbid!—into their own land.'

Prince Arichis.

Prince Arichis, who now ruled in Benevento, and had held sway there since 758, was in some respects the finest specimen of a ruler whom the Lombard race produced[2]. Brave in war, capable in administration and diplomacy, able to hold his own and to guide his bark through the troubled sea of Italian politics, he was also a man of considerable intellectual culture, generous towards the Church (like so many others of the 'unutterable' Lombards), and able to share and

[1] This we learn from the *Ludovicianum*. Martens (Römische Frage, p. 186) thinks that Hadrian tried unsuccessfully to add Reate to the *Patrimonium Sabinense*.

[2] We get his character chiefly from the epitaph by Paulus Diaconus, but also from the history of Erchempert.

sympathise with the literary interests of his wife, the accomplished Adelperga[1].

His wife Adelperga.

This princess, the daughter of Desiderius, was also apparently the pupil of Paulus Diaconus, who for her composed that history of the Roman Empire (the so-called Historia Miscella) which has been so often quoted in the foregoing pages, and the object of which was to continue the work of Eutropius and to enrich it with those notices as to ecclesiastical history which Adelperga looked for in vain in the pages of the heathen historian[2].

Though not apparently descended from the dukes of the old Beneventan line whose names were borne by himself and his sons[3], and though originally planted in the Samnite duchy as the friend and relation of Desiderius, Arichis seems to have been gladly accepted by the inhabitants of that duchy as their sovereign, and to have rooted his dynasty deep in their affections. He was evidently a great builder, and we may well suppose that the splendid Roman monuments which adorned the city (some of which, like Trajan's noble arch, remain to this day) had an influence in directing the minds of the prince and princess of Benevento

[1] 'Formosus, validus, suavis moderator et acer,
Facundus, sapiens, luxque decorque fuit.
Quod Logos et Phisis, moderansque quod Ethica pangit
Omnia condiderat mentis in arce suae;
Strenuus eloquii divini cultor et index
Pervigil in lacrymis tempora noctis agens.'
Pauli Epitaphium, 9–14 (M. G. H. Poet. Latin. i. 67).

[2] See vol. i. p. 431 (850). Adelperga's name corresponds to the Saxon Ethelburga. Dahn places the flourishing period of Paulus' intercourse with the Beneventan court from 755 to 774 (Paulus Diaconus, p. 74).

[3] Arichis, Romwald, Grimwald.

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towards the literature of the wonderful race who had spanned the Calore and the Vulturno with their bridges, and had carried the Via Appia straight over hill and dale to Brindisi from Rome.

But not only were the princely pair attracted towards the literature of the Latins. With the Greeks of Constantinople ('Romans' as they persisted in calling themselves) they had, after the revolution of 774, a strong tie, in the fact that Adelperga's brother Adelchis was now living at the Imperial court, slowly subsiding into middle age and the condition of a great Byzantine noble, but ever and anon making desperate attempts, with the help of Greek soldiers and sailors, to recover his lost Lombard throne. It

S. Sophia.

was probably this Byzantine influence which caused Arichis to build what Erchempert calls 'a most wealthy and becoming temple to the Lord, which he named after the two Greek words *Hagia Sophia*, that is "Holy Wisdom"; and having founded there a monastery and endowed it with most ample farms and various wealth, he handed it over for ever to the Order of St. Benedict[1].'

The church and the monastery still remain, and the cloister of the latter, with its pillars bearing capitals of strange devices, is one of the loveliest in Italy, but successive earthquakes ruined the stately building of Arichis, and two tombs and a few columns are all that now remain thereof, save a bas-relief in the tympanum over the church-portal, depicting St. Mercury in soldier's attire presenting to the Saviour the kneeling Arichis, who wears the crown and the princely mantle.

[1] S. Sophia seems to have been begun by Gisulf II, but Arichis had so large a share in the building that he was considered its founder.

BAS-RELIEF, CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA AT BENEVENTO

PRINCE ARICHIS PRESENTED BY ST. MERCURY TO CHRIST: THE VIRGIN ON THE SAVIOUR'S RIGHT

Salerno.

The fortification of Salerno on the sea-coast was doubtless significant of this altered attitude of Benevento towards Constantinople. Hitherto the Lombard had looked upon the sea as his enemy, fearing invasion by the fleets of the Emperor or the Caliph. Now, however, that the Frank was the dominant power in Italy, and that help in resisting his menaces might come from a friendly Byzantium, it was important to have a stronghold upon the sea-coast. For this purpose Arichis fortified with massive walls the city which gives its name to the beautiful bay of Salerno, which at the same time he adorned with stately buildings seen from afar by mariners, and turned into a second capital of his principality [1].

Quarrels over the possession of Campania.

About the year 778 the Pope found himself confronted by the allied Greeks and Beneventans in his attempt to retain his hold on some part of Campania. 'Know' (he says to Charles [2]) 'that your and our rivals, the most unutterable Beneventans, are trying to seduce our people in Campania from their allegiance, working to this end in concert with the [Imperial] Patrician of Sicily [3], who is now residing at

[1] Erchempert speaks of the fortification of Salerno as having taken place after the war of 787, but this, as Abel points out (Jahrbücher, i. 562), is evidently a mistake. It is inaccurate also to speak as he does of Arichis as the original founder of Salerno, and his derivation of the name of the city from *Salum*=the sea, and the river *Liris*, is of course absurd.

[2] Ep. 62, May, 778.

[3] I do not venture into the obscure subject of the history of Sicily under Byzantine rule, but I may observe that in the year 781 (as we learn from Theophanes), Elpidius, the governor of Sicily, having been accused of favouring the party of the Caesars, that is the brothers of Leo the Khazar, against Irene and her son, was recalled by the Empress. He refused, however, to obey the

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Gaeta and to whom they have bound themselves by strong oaths, as well as with the men of Terracina. We have, by means of the bishops, ordered the Campanians to come into our presence or to send five of the principal men of each city to your Excellency. This they refuse to do, though we have sent another urgent message to that effect by Bishop Philip and our nephew Paschalis. We have therefore decided to send our militia[1] thither in order to compel their obedience. We pray you in the presence of the living God to order 'these most unutterable and God-hated Beneventans to cease from thus tempting our Campanian subjects. We for our part will hold no communication with them, nor will we receive their envoys or have aught to do with the consecration of their bishop, since they have become contrary to St. Peter, to us, and to you.'

Affair of Terracina.

Hadrian seems, perhaps by means of his *generalis exercitus*, to have recovered possession of Terracina for a short time; but it was soon again wrested from him by 'the most wicked Neapolitans, together with the Greeks hateful to God, Arichis, duke of Benevento, giving them his malignant counsel[2].' This manner of speaking of the Neapolitans seems to show that

order of recall, and the Sicilians, rallying round him, supported him in his rebellion. Hereupon Irene ordered the wife of Elpidius to be flogged and tonsured and shut up in prison with her sons. Theodore the patrician, an eunuch but a man of ability, was sent to Sicily, and after a number of pitched battles succeeded in defeating Elpidius, who fled to Africa, where he was well received by the Saracens, who put the imperial diadem on his head and the purple buskins on his feet. We hear, however, nothing more of this futile pretender to the Empire.

[1] 'Generalis exercitus.'

[2] Ep. 66 (779–780).

Naples, though essentially a Greek city and nominally belonging to the Empire, was beginning to take a somewhat independent position in South Italy, as Venice was doing in the North. 778 (?).

Hadrian implored Charles to send his officer Wulfin speedily to his aid, so as to arrive before the 1st of August. 'Let him order all the Tuscans and Spoletans and even the wicked Beneventans who are in your service and ours to come and recover Terracina, and if possible to capture Gaeta and Naples also, recovering our patrimony in that territory.' He proceeds to describe a scheme, so clever as to be almost unintelligible, by which he had hoped apparently to get hold of Naples without losing his claim on Terracina:—

'We made a compact with the false Neapolitans last Easter through their envoy Peter, by which we sought to recover the patrimony of St. Peter which is in that city, and at the same time to subdue them to your service. It was agreed that they should give us fifteen hostages of the noblest of their sons, and that we should abandon our claim to Terracina. Then they were to go to their Patrician in Sicily [to obtain his permission to] hand over to us our patrimony, which being done they should recover both the city and their hostages. But we on our part could not give up either the city or the hostages without your sanction, and so we hoped to keep these hostages for your service. All this, however, was hindered by that most unfaithful Arichis, duke of Beneventum, who, continually entertaining the envoys of the most wicked Patrician of Sicily, prevented our receiving the hostages from the aforesaid Neapolitans. For he is daily expecting, to his own perdition, the son of Desiderius

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the long-ago-not-to-be-mentioned king of the Lombards, that together with him they may attack both us and you[1]. Pray let nothing cool your love to St. Peter. We care nothing for the city of Terracina itself; we only wish that the faithless Beneventans may not in this thing find the desired loophole for escaping from their allegiance to you.'

XVIII. Seven years' interval (780–786). Saxon affairs.

XVIII. As I have before said, it is the misfortune of a history compiled from a one-sided correspondence like the Codex Carolinus that it is always describing the beginning of transactions of whose end it is ignorant. We know nothing as to the final settlement of the disputes last recorded, save that it is clear that the Pope's schemes for obtaining a footing in Naples were not successful.

As far as Beneventan affairs are concerned, there is an eventless interval of about seven years (780–786). This lull in the storm is doubtless due to the death of Leo the Khazar (September, 780), the accession of Irene and her son, and the friendly relations which were almost immediately established between the Greek and Frankish courts. Not even on the occasion of Charles's second visit to Rome (Easter, 781) do we hear of any direct communications, friendly or unfriendly, between him and Arichis of Benevento.

The years which intervened between the second and third visits of the Frankish monarch to Rome were some of the most memorable ones in his Thirty Years' War with the Saxons.

In 782, supposing the subjugation of the Saxons

[1] 'Quia cotidie ad istam perditionem filium nefandissimi Desiderii dudum nec dicendi regi (*sic*) Langobardorum expectat, ut una cum ipsum (*sic*) pro vobis nos expugnent' (Ibid.).

to be complete, he convened an assembly at the sources of the Lippe, and there promulgated that stern and rigorous Act of Uniformity which was called *Capitulatio de Partibus Saxoniae*, and which denounced death, not merely on those who were guilty of sacrilege or other obvious crimes such as the murder of a priest; not merely on those who still openly celebrated the old heathen sacrifices; but even on those who only negatively disobeyed the rule of the Catholic Church, for instance by not fasting in Lent or by hiding in order to escape from baptism.

Soon did Charles discover that he had not yet quelled the spirit of Saxon heathenism. Widukind returned from Denmark and preached everywhere revolt against the tyranny of the new lords. At Mount Suntal three Frankish generals were defeated by the Saxons; two of their number, together with four counts and twenty other nobles, were slain, and the Frankish army was almost annihilated. Then came Charles's terrible campaign of revenge, and that atrocious massacre of 4,500 Saxon prisoners by the banks of the Aller, which is in Charles's history what the massacre of Drogheda is in that of Cromwell, the one fatal blot on a career otherwise noble and magnanimous. Before this invading army Widukind fled, and after two more years of Frankish triumph he came in, made his full submission to Charles, and underwent the rite of baptism (785), the Frankish king himself acting as his godfather.

Troubles with Constantinople.

So, for a time, the Saxon storm was laid, but during these later years the relations with Constantinople had been growing steadily worse, the marriage treaty was collapsing, and, as an inevitable consequence, trouble

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for Charles and the Pope was brewing in Southern Italy.

In 786 (apparently) Hadrian wrote to Charles with a requisition for 1,000 pounds of tin for the roofing of St. Peter's, and informed him that Arichis was trying to wrest Amalfi—that near neighbour of Salerno—from the duchy of Naples and add it to his dominions. The Neapolitans resisted by force of arms, and many Beneventans were slain[1]. Soon, however, Arichis, hearing rumours of an impending visit of Charles to Italy, decided to end this quarrel and to close up the ranks of the dwellers in Campania ere the Frank approached their borders. He made over to the Neapolitans some long-desired lands and revenues in the Terra di Lavoro and the district of Nola, strengthened the fortifications of Benevento and Salerno[2], and probably re-opened the long-closed negotiations with the Greek Empress and her son.

XIX. Charles's third visit to Rome, 787.

XIX. The time had evidently come, after more than five years' absence, for another visit of the Rex Langobardorum to Italy. Accordingly at the end of autumn (786) he crossed the Alps, and, apparently without visiting his palace at Pavia, journeyed straight to Florence, where he spent his Christmas. He came not now, as on his previous visit, accompanied by wife and children. The much-loved Hildegard was dead, and the proud and difficult-tempered Fastrada had for three years shared his throne. Possibly he was not unwilling to escape from her harsh companionship for some months, while his paternal heart was gladdened

[1] Ep. 82.

[2] Erchempert gives us this information (p. 235 in M. G. H.).

by the thought of seeing again the young king of Italy, Pippin, now a bright boy in the tenth year of his age.

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Romwald of Benevento in Charles's presence.

Early in the year, Charles arrived in Rome, and probably remained there a month or more, but of his entry into the City and his interviews with Hadrian we have nothing recorded. With reference to both his second and third visits we have good reason to complain of the utter silence of the so-called Vita Hadriani in the Liber Pontificalis, which is in fact only a history of two years of that long pontificate. We learn, however, from the annalists[1] that while he was in Rome, Romwald, the eldest son of Arichis, a youth of great intellectual promise, the joy and stay of his parents[2], appeared in the presence of Charles, offering on his father's behalf great gifts and a promise of perfect obedience to the will of his overlord if only he would refrain from invading the territory of Benevento. The submission seemed sufficient to the Frankish King, but the Pope, ever hostile to the Lombard duchy, counselled war, and the fiery nobles in Charles's train echoed his words. Into the Beneventan territory he accordingly marched, visiting the venerable monastery of Monte Cassino on his way, and by the 22nd of March[3] he had taken up his quarters at Capua. According to one late and doubtful

Charles invades the Beneventan territory.

[1] Chiefly Annales Laurissenses and Einhardi; but also Einhardi Vita Caroli.

[2] This from the epitaph by David of Benevento (Poet. Lat. Aev. Carolin. in M. G. H. i. 111).

[3] As is proved by a grant of that date to Bishop David of Benevento (Ughelli, Italia Sacra, viii. 37, quoted by Abel, i. 560, n. 6).

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authority[1] a battle followed between Charles and Arichis, but it seems more probable that no battle was fought. Arichis shut himself up in his strong city of Salerno, and looked doubtless over the sea for the hoped-for Grecian galleys. Meanwhile the Frankish host was quartered in the land, and, 'like locusts,' were eating up the fruits thereof. The prince of Benevento saw that his case was desperate, and sent another humble message to Charles, offering as before 'that he and his people would willingly obey all Charles's commands, that he would pay a yearly tribute of 7,000 solidi [£4,200[2], and, as a pledge for his fulfilment of these conditions, he proposed the surrender of thirteen noble Beneventan hostages and two of his children, his younger son Grimwald and his daughter Adelgisa.' The last condition, as both poets and annalists agree in telling us, was especially hard to the paternal soul of Arichis. Erchempert tells us that it was included in the conditions that the Beneventans should shave their beards after the manner of the Franks, and that all charters and coins should bear the name of Charles[3].

Large treasure was at the same time brought by

[1] (Erchempert) 'Arichis viribus quibus valuit primo fortiter restitit, postremo autem acriter preliantibus... geminam sobolem... jam dicto tradidit Caesari' (Script. Rer. Lang. p. 235).

[2] This seems to me to be the natural interpretation of Einhardi Annales, s. a. 814, where it is said that Louis the Pious made a treaty with Grimwald son of Arichis, 'eo modo quo et pater, scilicet ut Beneventani tributum annis singulis septem millia solidos darent': but Abel (i. 565, n. 1), following Hirsch, thinks that only the fact of the earlier tribute is here alleged, not its precise amount.

[3] The Chronicle of Salerno adds that the fortresses of Salerno, Conza, and Acerenza were all to be demolished.

787. Arichis submits to Charles.

the ambassadors. Charles accepted their terms, being as we are told, especially desirous to spare the churches and monasteries of the land from the ravages of an invading army. Romwald, who had hitherto been kept a prisoner, was released and allowed to return home. Grimwald followed in Charles's train beyond the Alps. Adelgisa, on her father's earnest prayer, was restored to her parents.

It was apparently during Charles's stay in Capua that he received the Imperial ambassadors who came to make the final demand for the hand of the princess Hrotrud, and to whom he gave his final answer, that he would not allow his daughter to be carried away from him into that distant land.

Charles returns to Frankland.

At the end of March he left Capua for Rome, kept his Easter there (April 8, 787), then visited Ravenna (where he was the guest of the Archbishop Gratiosus), spent the early summer in Upper Italy, and, before the middle of July, had crossed the Alps and was back in his own Rhine-traversed city of Worms. So ended this Italian journey. Thirteen years were to pass before he again appeared in Italy to make his fourth, his last and his most famous pilgrimage to Rome.

XX. Deaths of Arichis and Romwald of Benevento.

XX. Soon after these events death laid a heavy hand on the princely house of Benevento. On the 21st of July, 787, died the heir of the house, Romwald, in the 26th year of his age. A month later (August 26, 787) died Arichis himself, after living fifty-three years and reigning thirty. Another son, Gisulf[1], had apparently died some years before. Only

[1] Gisif (Chronicon Salernitanum, c. 20; quoted by Abel, p. 566).

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Grimwald remained, and he was a hostage and a captive in the hands of the Frankish king. Now all the efforts of the widowed Adelperga's diplomacy were put forth to obtain the surrender of Grimwald, that he might return and take his place on his father's throne, and all the efforts of Hadrian's diplomacy were put forth to prevent that surrender.

Increase of Papal territory on the south-east.

The story is complicated by the fact that Hadrian, ever mindful of the interests of St. Peter, had asked for and apparently obtained from Charles a concession of certain towns in the Beneventan territory. It seems probable that the consent of Arichis to this diminution of his principality had been one of the conditions of the treaty which was the price of Charles's withdrawal from his land[1]. The names of these towns (if we may trust the enumeration of them in the grant which is called the *Ludovicianum*) were Sora, Arce, Aquino, Arpino, Teano and Capua—certainly a goodly addition to the *Ducatus Romae* on its eastern and south-eastern border[2].

[1] Hadrian describes these cities (in Ep. 84) as 'civitates partibus Beneventanis, sicut eas per vestram sacram oblationem beato Petro et nobis contulistis,' words perfectly consistent with a special donation of Beneventan territory in 787; inconsistent, as it seems to me, with the alleged far vaster donation of 774.

[2] In Ep. 84 Hadrian begs Charles to complete the transfer of those Beneventan cities to St. Peter, as he had already done with the cities of Tuscany; Soana, Toscanella, Viterbo and Bagnorea—a considerable extension of Papal territory to the north-west. He also claims (Epp. 84 and 87) that Populonia and Rosellae shall be restored to St. Peter, 'as they were in old time'; and here again the *Ludovicianum* confirms their Papal ownership. But surely in this case they must have been outlying patrimonies of the Church, and we are not to think of the wide stretch of intervening Tuscan territory as transferred along with these two cities.

As to Capua, there was clearly a party in that city, headed by a certain presbyter Gregory, which was willing to accept the Papal yoke. In January, 788, Gregory came with nine of his fellow-citizens (who, it is to be observed, nearly all bore Lombard names [1]) to swear allegiance to St. Peter.

Hadrian evidently had some fear of offending his great patron by accepting the proffered allegiance, but in any case, as he shrewdly remarked, 'our doing this will sow dissension among them, and when they are thus divided they will be more easily overcome by our excellent son, for his benefit and St. Peter's [2].' The purport of the oath was 'to keep fealty to Peter the Apostle of God, and to the royal power of the Pope and the Frankish King [3].'

Alleged overtures of Arichis to the Greeks.

After the oath had been administered, Gregory sought a private interview with the Pope, saying, 'I have a secret which I must impart to you after swearing that oath.' The secret was that immediately after Charles's return from Capua the preceding year, the late prince Arichis had opened disloyal negotiations with Constantinople, praying for the honour of the Patriciate, the addition of Naples to his dominions,

[1] 'Saductus, Pergulfus, Audemundus, Haimo, Landemarus, Warnefridus, Sigulfus, Audualdus, Corbulus. We get the story of this mission not only from Epp. 85 and 86 in the Codex Carolinus, but also from Ep. 4 in Epistolae Carolinae (Jaffé, p. 345), which apparently ought to have been included in the Codex.

[2] 'Nobis quoque melius esse adparet, si eos recipiemus ut inter eos dissensio fiat et divisis (*sic*) inveniantur: quod ad partem atque effectum beati Petri simul et precellentissimi filii nostri domini regis sic expedit: ut dum divisi fuerint melius cohibeantur sine nostro vestroque lavore (*sic*).' Ep. Car. 4.

[3] 'Jurare fecimus in fide ejusdem Dei apostoli et *nostrae atque vestrae regalis potentiae.*' Ep. 86.

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and an armed force to protect him from the anger of Charles and to replace his brother-in-law Adelchis on the Lombard throne. In return for these concessions he was willing to become a subject of the Empire, and, as the outward sign of his submission, to adopt the Grecian garb and the Grecian mode of trimming his hair and his beard. On receiving these overtures, the Emperor, according to Gregory, had sent two of the officers of his guard along with the governor of Sicily[1], bearing gold-enwoven robes, a sword of honour, and a comb and tweezers for the important operation of dressing the converted Lombard's hair. They were at the same time instructed to claim the surrender of Romwald as a hostage for his father's good faith.

Arrival of the Greek ambassadors.

All these elaborate negotiations however—for which we have only the word of the intriguing Gregory, and which are probably untrue as far as Arichis is concerned—were snapped in twain by the sudden deaths of Arichis and his son. The Greek ambassadors however—and here we have no reason to doubt the truth of Gregory's statement—had landed at Acropolis in Lucania, had thence journeyed by land to Salerno (January 20, 788), had had an interview with Adelperga and the nobles of Benevento, but had been adjured by them not to bring them into trouble with Charles (whose envoy, Atto, was then in their city) by their presence at Salerno till the much-desired Grimwald was safe at home again. They had therefore betaken themselves to Naples, where they had been received by the Neapolitans with banners and

[1] 'Spatarios duos cum diucitin (*διοικητής*) Siciliae.' This governor, as we learn from Theophanes, was Theodore, patrician and *strategus* of Sicily.

standards—(why should they not, since Naples was still an Imperial city?)—and were there watching their time for the renewal of negotiations with the young Grimwald as soon as he was once more in his father's palace. Adelchis meanwhile was hovering about the Adriatic: 'at Treviso or Ravenna' said one account[1], 'at Taranto' said another[2], which added that Adelperga was meditating a pilgrimage, in company with her two daughters, to the shrine of St. Michael on Mount Garganus, doubtless not for the sole purpose of kissing the Archangel's foot-prints, but in order to creep round to Taranto—only eighty miles distant from Sant' Angelo—and greet her brother on his landing.

Such was the tangled web of truth and error which was laid before Charles in the early months of 788 by the successive letters of the importunate Hadrian. The one piece of advice which he urged with most monotonous pertinacity was, 'Do not let young Grimwald go'; and next to that was the exhortation to move his troops into the south of Italy before the 1st of May, and not to allow the Beneventans to put him off with excuses and perjured promises till the spring season, which was most suitable for warlike operations, should be passed[3].

Charles is unwilling to keep Grimwald prisoner.

Charles however, who had spent so large a part of the year 787 in Italy, was by no means disposed to undertake an expedition thither in 788 in order to soothe the nervous fears of the Pope, or assist him to nibble off some further portions of the Beneventan principality. As for keeping the young prince Grim-

[1] Ep. 86.

[2] Ep. 84.

[3] Epp. 84 and 85.

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wald in captivity and so making his father's house desolate, there was something in Charles's nature too magnanimous to accept so mean a policy. Moreover, Paulus Diaconus, who had been the constant companion of his leisure for the last six years, had probably instilled into his mind some of his own love and admiration for Adelperga and her children. And though it was manifest that the Court of Constantinople was making desperate efforts to bring about the restoration of Adelchis and so overthrow the Frankish dominion in Italy, it was by no means clear to the statesmanlike intellect of Charles that the best way of guarding against such an attack was to refuse the reasonable request of the Beneventans for the return of their prince, and so drive them into irreconcilable hostility. He held his hand therefore for the present, and meanwhile despatched two successive embassies to Italy in order to examine the state of affairs in that country and report to him thereon.

Charles's two embassies to Italy.

The first embassy consisted of a deacon named Atto and Guntram[1] the Keeper of the Gate in the royal palace. The second embassy included Maginarius, abbot of S. Denis, a deacon named Joseph, and Count Liuderic. Maginarius had already been often sent to the Papal Court, and had been especially concerned in the affair of the restoration of the Sabine patrimony. Atto had been before engaged in Beneventan business[2], and it is perhaps allowable to suppose[3] that he had some leaning towards Adelperga's, as Maginarius had towards Hadrian's side of the controversy. However this may be, it is worth

[1] Or Goteramnus.

[2] Epp. 67; 86.

[3] So Malfatti, ii. 370–371.

while to glance at two letters written by the Pope[1] and one by Maginarius[2], which relate the somewhat adventurous story of the two embassies, and which shed a valuable light on the political condition of South Italy in the year 788. 788.

The two embassies apparently arrived in Rome at the same time, but Maginarius and Joseph had not yet been joined by their colleague Count Liuderic. The other two envoys, Atto and Guntram, went forward to a little place called Valva[3], while Maginarius and Joseph, after they had been joined by their belated companion, travelled by way of the river Sangro to the Beneventan territory. There seems to have been some misunderstanding between the two parties as to the rendezvous, and thus it happened that, in spite of Hadrian's earnest entreaties that they would all keep together, the Atto embassy reached Benevento four days before the Maginarius embassy, and after waiting some little time, pushed on to Salerno, where the princess was abiding, and where alone they could discharge their commission. What happened to Maginarius when he in his turn arrived at Benevento shall be told in his own words, as he described it to his royal master :—

The story of Maginarius.

'But when we arrived at the Beneventan frontier, we perceived that the inhabitants had no loyal feeling towards your Excellency. We therefore wrote to the other envoys, begging them to wait for us at Benevento, that we might act in concert as the Apostolic Lord [Hadrian] had counselled us, and if we found the

[1] Cod. Car., Epp. 85, 86.

[2] Epistolae Carolinae, 5 (p. 346, ed. Jaffé).

[3] Now Castro Valve, about ten miles east of the Lago di Fucino.

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men of Benevento loyal, proceed together to Salerno, and if not, consult together what was best to be done. We had been told that they wished to wait for us, and thus take counsel together before proceeding to Salerno. But when we had passed through the ranks of the people disloyal to you (God be contrary to them!) and had arrived at Benevento, hoping there to find our comrades and to consult with them as to the discharge of your commission, we found that one day before our arrival they had departed for Salerno.

'This brought us into great tribulation, both because we had not got our comrades with us, and because the men who were loyal to you told us that if ever we reached Salerno we should be detained there till they knew what was to be done with Grimwald and with *their* envoys to you. And they assured us that if we could not give them a sufficient guarantee that you would let them have Grimwald for their duke and that you would restore to them those cities of theirs which you had given to St. Peter and the Apostolic Lord, they would not fulfil your orders, but would keep us fast bound as their prisoners. If we could make these promises, however, then they would obey all your orders.

'On receipt of this intelligence, I, Maginarius, pretended to be very sick, so that it was impossible for me to journey to Salerno. Then in order that we might have our colleagues restored to us, I wrote a letter to Adelperga and the other Beneventan nobles to this effect; that I, Maginarius, wished to forward Joseph and Liuderic on their journey to her, but that they entirely refused to go without me. Let them therefore send to us Atto and Guntram, and twelve

or fourteen, or as many as they pleased, of the nobles of Benevento. We would then disclose to them the nature of our commission, and discuss as to the best course to be pursued for your advantage and the safety of their land. After I had recovered my health, if it were possible, I would go with them to Salerno, but if not, the other four would all revisit Salerno and there treat of all things with the nobles.

'Adelperga, however, refused to send any of the nobles to us, but Guntram alone was allowed to rejoin us at Benevento. Then when we had learned from your faithful subjects that they were determined to ruin us, we told Guntram all that we had heard of their disloyalty to you, and he told us the same story. And Guntram wished for Atto's sake to return to Salerno; but we said that it was better that one should be detained prisoner than two.

'Having heard much more about the disloyal designs of the Beneventans, and seeing that we could in no wise serve your interests by remaining, we departed at cock-crow without their consent, and by the help of God fought our way through till we reached the territory of Spoleto in safety.'

The same story substantially is told by the Pope, with this additional information, that the plan of the ruling party at Salerno had been, if the envoys went thither, to entice them out to some spot by the sea-side, and there to have a sham-fight with their neighbours of Amalfi, Sorrento and Naples, in the course of which Charles's envoys might be slain as if accidentally, while no blame for their death would attach to any one. The story of this plot, like so much else to the discredit of the Beneventans, came

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from that marvellous story-teller, Gregory of Capua[1]. He was probably also responsible for the statement, admitted to be made only on loose hearsay[2], that the envoy Atto, when he heard that his colleagues had fled, took refuge at the altar in the church of Salerno. 'But the Beneventans,' said Hadrian, 'persuading him, and as I think dissembling their real intentions, soothed his fears, and hypocritically[3] sent him back to your Excellency, professing themselves your faithful subjects in all things[4].'

On a review of the whole story it seems probable that there was no justification for the fears, in their extreme form, of the nervous and timid Maginarius. There was evidently a strong anti-Frankish party at Benevento and Salerno, and men's minds were in an excited state, so long as it was deemed possible that Charles would abuse the advantage which he possessed in the possession of the person of young Grimwald, to terminate the line of the princes of Benevento. But, guided by the advice of his one brave envoy, Atto, Charles adopted the nobler course. In the spring of 788[5] Grimwald returned to his native land and was received by his subjects with great joy. It was of course stipulated that he should accept the same position of dependence towards Charles which his father had occupied in the last year of his reign. He swore that deeds should be dated and coins engraved with the name of the Frankish king, and in the important matter of hair-dressing that the Lombards

Grimwald is restored to his people.

[1] Ep. 86.

[2] 'Ut fertur.' Ep. 85.

[3] 'Ficte.'

[4] 'Se ipsos fideles in omnibus commendantes.'

[5] Probably in the month of May.

should shave their beards in Frankish fashion, wearing only the moustache [1].

XXI. Doubtless the dependence of the Beneventan prince on his Frankish overlord was of a somewhat slight and shadowy character. The coins and the deeds did not always bear the name of Charles [2], nay, in later years there was actual warfare between Grimwald and his young overlord Pippin. But, in the main, the generous policy of the king was proved to be also true statesmanship. Especially was this made manifest in the autumn [3] of 788, when the long-threatened Greek invasion of Italy at last became a reality. The exiled prince Adelchis, with Theodore the administrator [4] of Sicily, and John, treasurer and paymaster of the Imperial army [5], having landed their troops in Calabria (which still designated the district near Brindisi, the 'heel' and not the 'toe' of Italy), moved westwards and began to ravage the territory of the Beneventans. To meet them, advanced a mingled armament of Lombards and Franks. Hildeprand, duke of Spoleto, and Grimwald of Benevento—loyal to Charles though the invader was own brother of his mother—fought under the generalship of Winichis, who, notwithstanding his Lombard-sounding name

XXI. Greek invasion of South Italy.

[1] The wearing of the moustache is an inference from the words of Erchempert, to whom we owe our chief information as to the return of Grimwald.

[2] So Erchempert.

[3] Probably the autumn, but we have only the vaguest indications of either the place or the time of this important engagement.

[4] 'Dioecetes.'

[5] 'Sacellarius et Logotheta militiae.'

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seems to have been an officer on the staff of Charles [1], and at any rate commanded the detachment—not a large one—of Frankish troops. The battle may very likely have been joined somewhere in Horace's country, within sight of the volcanic cone of Monte Vulture. It resulted in the complete defeat of the invaders, a defeat admitted by the Greeks, as it is claimed by the Frankish historians. Four thousand of the Greeks were slain, and one thousand taken prisoners. John the Sacellarius probably fell on the battle-field [2]. It is clear that the Franks alone could not have won this victory, and that the policy of King Charles in dealing tenderly with the great Lombard dukes was abundantly justified by the issue of this campaign.

As for Adelchis, he appears to have escaped from the field of battle and returned to Constantinople,

[1] But this is only conjecture. Winichis may have been a pure Lombard.

[2] This victory over the Byzantines is referred to in Grimwald's epitaph:—

'Cum Danahis bellum felici sorte peregit
Finibus et pellit belliger ipse suis.'
(Poetarum Latinarum Medii Aevi in M. G. H. i. 430.)

Alcuin also mentions it in a letter (written in 790) to his friend Colcu, a presbyter of Durham, enumerating Charles's victories: 'Graeci vero tertio [abhinc] anno cum classe venerunt in Italiam: et a ducibus regis praefati victi fugerunt ad naves. Quattuor milia ex illis occisi et mille captivi feruntur' (Alcuini Epistolae, ed Jaffé, p. 167). Theophanes (A. M. 6281) describes the defeat thus: *καὶ πολέμου κροτηθέντος, ἐκρατήθη ὑπὸ τῶν Φράγγων ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰωάννης καὶ δεινῶς ἀνῃρέθη.* This has been understood by some writers to mean that John was taken prisoner by the Franks and put to death by them with torture, but I think Harnack (p. 31) is probably right in interpreting it thus, 'he was mastered by the Franks and perished miserably [on the battlefield].'

where he probably reached old age in inglorious ease, a well-fed Byzantine patrician. Charles Edward Stuart had played his part and was transformed into the Cardinal of York. 788.

XXII. Hadrian's discontent.

XXII. The return of the young Beneventan prince to his father's palace was regarded with much disfavour by Pope Hadrian. He wrote to Charles [1], saying, 'We beg of your Excellency that no man may be allowed to hinder your own holy desires, and that you will not treat Grimwald, son of Arichis, better than your own patron Peter, the blessed key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven. That Grimwald when he was at Capua in the presence of your envoys congratulated himself thus: "Our lord the king has ordered that any one, whether great or small, who wishes to be my man shall without doubt be my man or any one else's whom he may choose."' [That is, there was to be no compulsory allegiance to the Pope, but any one who pleased might change his service for that of Grimwald.] 'And, as we have heard, some Greek nobles residing at Naples said with howls of insulting laughter, "Thank God! all their promises [that is the promises of the Franks] are brought to nought." For our part we care nothing for their laughs and their mockeries [2], though the Greeks themselves remarked that the apostolic envoys had now twice returned without effect.'

How the question of the Beneventan cities was left is not clear from the Papal correspondence, but it

[1] Ep. 87.

[2] 'Sed eorum cachinnas [*sic*] subsannationes pro nichilo reputamus.'

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seems doubtful whether Capua at any rate was firmly bound over to the Papal service. In the letter just quoted Hadrian complains that the fair words of Charles as to Populonia and Rosellae and the Beneventan cities are not backed by corresponding deeds on the part of Charles's envoys: 'We sent dukes Crescentius and Hadrian together with your envoys into the regions of Benevento to accomplish your royal wishes; but [the latter] would not hand over to [our representatives] anything except bishops' houses, and monasteries, and court-houses [1], and at the same time the keys of cities without the men, for the men themselves have it in their power to go in and out as they please. And how can we keep the cities without the men, if their inhabitants are allowed to plot against [our rule]? But we want to have freedom to rule and govern these cities in the same way and by the same law as we do the other cities in Tuscany which are comprised in your gift.'

Evidently there was a fault in the working of the political machine, for which neither Charles nor Hadrian could be considered altogether responsible. It was admitted that certain large portions of Central Italy were to be held and governed by the Pope—possibly with a certain reservation of supreme rights to the Patrician of the Romans—but the Pope had no army worth notice under his command, no organised system of police, and as his orders were thus destitute of material sanction, his dominions from Ravenna to Capua were constantly on the point of slipping from his hold.

[1] 'Curtes puplicas' (?).

XXIII. In order to continue the story of 'the Samnite Duchy' it may be stated that Grimwald began gradually to disregard the command to date his charters by the years of his lord paramount and to stamp his effigy on his coins, and that his attitude towards the Frankish king became more and more obviously that of a revolted subject [1]. He also obtained in marriage the hand of a 'Greek' princess, named Wantia, said to have been the niece of an Emperor [2]. The marriage indeed did not turn out happily, and eventually his love was turned into such bitter hate that (as the chronicler tells us) 'he made the opposition of the Franks an excuse for sending her in Hebrew fashion a writing of divorcement [3],' and forcibly transporting her to her own home. That quarrel may, however, have happened some years later. Meanwhile the Greek alliance and the signs of impending revolt caused Charles to send one, or perhaps two, hostile expeditions into the Beneventan territory. In 791, we are told [4], Charles, on his return from a victorious expedition against the Avars, ordered his son Pippin to march into the land of Benevento and lay it waste with fire and sword. In the following year two of the young princes were sent against the rebellious duchy. Louis, then a lad of fourteen, who

[1] 'Mox rebellionis jurgium initiavit' (Erchempert, § 4).

[2] We get this fact only from Erchempert. The name Wantia does not sound like that of a Byzantine princess, and it is hardly credible that the young Emperor Constantine VI can have had a niece of marriageable age. In fact he seems to be always spoken of as an only son.

[3] There is probably an allusion here to Matt. xix. 7.

[4] By the Annales Guelferbytani. (It has been suggested that this is really the same expedition as that of 792.)

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had been staying with his father at Ratisbon, was ordered to return to his own kingdom of Aquitaine, collect troops, and march over the Mont Cenis into Italy. He accomplished the journey in the autumn, reached Ravenna, spent his Christmas there, and then, with his Aquitanians, joined his brother Pippin [1]. Together they invaded the Samnite duchy, and at least succeeded in ravaging it so thoroughly that their own soldiers were wellnigh reduced to starvation, and had to receive the Church's pardon for eating flesh in Lent, no other victuals being accessible [2]. No victories, however, are placed to the credit of the young invaders, and the campaign was probably an inglorious one, as it is not even mentioned by the official chroniclers [3].

XXIV. Chief events of

XXIV. The remaining seven years of Hadrian's pontificate (788–795) have not left any great mark

[1] We get these details from the Vita Ludovici by 'Astronomus,' not a first-rate authority.

[2] Annales Laureshamenses. There was also a famine in Francia.

[3] Simson (ii. 50, and Jahrbücher &c. unter Ludwig dem Frommen, i. 369) has pointed out an interesting allusion to this campaign in the documents of the monastery of Farfa (Regesto di Farfa, ii. 207). The monastery in the year 821 contended with Winichis, duke of Spoleto, as to the possession of lands which it claimed as the gift of a certain Paulus. Winichis however, in the king's name, contended that Paulus had already forfeited his lands by his desertion of Pippin and Louis in their Beneventan expedition: 'Dixit quod nichil Paulus de suis rebus potestatem habuisset dandi et quod forfactus de omnibus suis esset rebus, eo quod quando in hoste in Beneventum ambulare debuit, quando domnus Imperator [Ludovicus Pius] cum germano suo domno Pipino illic fuit, sine comi(t)atu a fauro [? Foro Livii] reversus est.' Winichis was unable to establish his contention, and the lands were adjudged to be the property of the monastery.

the last seven years of Hadrian's pontificate.

on the Codex Carolinus. These were the years of great and victorious campaigns against the Avars (791–795), and of a revival of the long duel with the Saxons, who took the opportunity of Charles's absence in the Danubian lands to attack and to inflict a crushing defeat on the Frankish general Theodoric (793). Their land, in reprisal for this attack, was again laid waste by Charles's armies (794), and they had to submit to the transportation of more than 7,000 men—a third of the whole population—from Bardengau (the old home of the Lombards on the left bank of the Elbe), and to their replacement by colonists of pure Frankish blood (795).

Avar and Saxon wars.

Canal between the Danube and the Rhine.

To this period also belong the commencement of one of King Charles's most magnificent undertakings, the digging of a canal in North Bavaria between the Danube and the Rhine (793), and the assembling of a general council of bishops from all parts of Charles's dominions, held at Frankfurt-on-the-Main (794). At this council Charles presided like another Constantine, the heresy of the Adoptionists[1] was condemned, and the declaration against image-worship was promulgated in defiance of the decrees of the Second Nicene Council[2].

Council of Frankfurt, 794.

Conspiracy of Pippin the Hunchback.

As to the domestic relations of the great king during the interval before us, the one most conspicuous and most sorrowful event was the conspiracy of his eldest son Pippin the Hunchback, the offspring of his marriage with Himiltrud. This conspiracy, which was hatched during Charles's absence in Bavaria, in connection with

[1] Which consisted in saying that Jesus Christ in His human nature was but the 'adopted' son of God.

[2] See p. 18.

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his Avar campaigns, was partly caused by the cruelty and arrogance of queen Fastrada, but was joined by many noble Franks, both old and young, and aimed we are told at nothing less than the murder of Charles himself and all his sons by Hildegard, that Pippin might be his unquestioned heir. It was discovered through the information given by a Lombard named Fardulf, faithful now to Charles, as he had been to his former sovereigns Desiderius and Adelchis. On its detection the chief offenders were put to death, all save the Hunchback himself, who received the tonsure and passed the remaining nineteen years of his life (792–811) in monastic seclusion at Prum, in the Moselle country. Three years afterwards (795) Fastrada died, little regretted by the subjects of her husband.

Death of Fastrada.

As has been said, few important letters passed between the Pope and King during this last period of seven years. We find with interest and some surprise that Hadrian has to reassure himself with the text 'If God be for us who can be against us?' on hearing of an alleged scheme of our own countryman, Offa, king of Mercia, to thrust him down from the papacy and elect another in his stead[1]. Offa's own relations with Charles were generally but not uniformly amicable. Here too the breakdown of a marriage treaty produced a temporary rupture between the two courts. Offa's daughter was sought in marriage for the young Charles, but when he proposed to enlarge the treaty so as to obtain the hand of Charles's daughter Bertha for his son, the Frankish king, indignant and always averse to his daughters leaving him for any husband, broke off the negotiations, and for a time put an embargo on

Offa's proposal to depose Hadrian.

[1] Ep. 96.

all the English merchant-ships. But the dispute was ere long settled, probably by the mediation of Alcuin, Offa's subject and Charles's friend.

The 'Patriciate of Peter.'

In a letter[1] written about the year 791 the Pope exhorts Charles not to listen to any complaints made against his administration by the men of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, and insists that, even as he does not receive any of Charles's 'men' coming without their lord's licence to the thresholds of the Apostles, so Charles shall not give admittance to any of the Pope's 'men' who seek audience at his court unless they bring the Pope's licence and letters dismissory. In the same letter he uses the following remarkable words: 'We pray your Excellency not to allow any change to be made in that whole burnt-offering which your sainted father offered and you confirmed to St. Peter. But even as you assert that the honour of your patriciate has been irrefragably guarded and ever more and more increased by us, similarly may the patriciate of your patron St. Peter, granted in writing in its fulness by lord Pippin and more amply confirmed by you, remain ever his by irrefragable right.'

This expression 'the patriciate of St. Peter' has been much commented on by scholars, and has been thought by some to express in juristic terms the relation of the Pope to that part of Italy which was under his sway. It is perhaps safer, however, to look upon it as a mere rhetorical phrase employed by the Pope to urge his suit with Charles. 'You are Patrician, and I have ever honoured you as such; but I too, as representing St. Peter, and the rights which you have conferred upon him, may claim to be in a certain sense

[1] Ep. 98.

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a Patrician, and I claim that you shall respect those rights as I respect yours.'

Death of Hadrian, Christmas 795.

At length the long pontificate of Hadrian came to an end. He died on Christmas Day, 795, and was buried in St. Peter's on the day following. Charles, who was on the point of despatching for his acceptance certain rich presents, part of the vast treasure taken from the *Ring* or circular city of the Avars, had now to send them to his successor, Leo III, who was elected on the very day of Hadrian's funeral and enthroned on the day following (December 27, 795).

As we have seen, the relations between the Frankish King and the Roman Pope had not been uniformly of a friendly character, but we are assured by Einhard, Charles's friend and biographer, that when he heard of Hadrian's death he wept for him, as if he had been a brother or the dearest of his sons[1].

[1] 'Nuntiato etiam sibi Hadriani Romani pontificis obitu, quem in amicis praecipuum habebat, sic flevit ac si fratrem aut karissimum filium amisisset' (Vita Caroli, xix).

NOTE A. The Chronicon Salernitanum on Arichis and his family.

This work is so evidently unhistorical as far as the events of the eighth century are concerned, that it is better not to attempt to combine it with our genuine historical authorities, meagre as they are. But as it is possible that a few grains of truth may be mingled with the alloy of legend given us by this anonymous author, I propose briefly to abstract what he has to tell us concerning Arichis, prince of Benevento.

(c. 19.) Before he came to the throne he was once worshipping with his prince in the church of St. Stephen at Capua: and when all the young men had come into the church armed with their daggers after the fashion of the Lombards and were uttering the usual prayers, young Arichis began to sing 'Miserere mei Deus.' When he came to the words 'Spiritus principalis confirma me[1],' the sheath of his dagger began to tremble as though some one shook it. Prayer being ended, he told his companions, with fear, what had happened. One of them, who was wiser than the rest, said, 'I believe thou wilt not depart out of this transitory life till the Lord has led thee to this dignity.' Accordingly on the death of Liudbrand [*sic*] he was chosen prince, not by bribery, but by the unanimous voice of his countrymen.

(c. 20.) This is the pedigree of Arichis:—

Arichis, †787, Anno Aetatis 53, Anno Regni, 30. = Adelperga, daughter of Desiderius.

Romwald, †July 21, 787, Anno Aet. 25.	Grimwald, †807, Anno Aet. 37.	Gisif (Gisulf).	Theoderada.	Adelchisa.

(c. 10.) Paulus Diaconus (having fallen into disfavour with Charles) was taken by Arichis into his palace, and received from him servants, fine clothes, and good food. They often spake together concerning the liberal arts, and when they spake of the

[1] 'Uphold me with Thy free spirit' (Psalm li. 12).

NOTE A. Holy Scriptures the prince felt his heart burn within him. Once they began to talk about Charles, and Paulus said, 'As far as I can guess, Charles will come against you with a great army.' This induced Arichis to leave Benevento and fortify Salerno, a very strong place, abounding in wealth and store of provisions; and Arichis made it into a very strong fortress.

(c. 8.) Now Charles before this, on being confirmed as king of all Italy, was much enraged that Arichis alone despised his commands and placed a precious crown on his own head. When he heard these tidings he swore a great oath, 'Unless with this sceptre which I hold in my hand I can strike the breast of Arichis, I am unwilling to live.'

(c. 10, *continued.*) So now Charles came against him with a mighty army composed of all the nations under his sway, and in great wrath. Arichis raised yet higher the walls of Salerno, and sent to summon all the chief bishops of his principality. They came to him in his secret chamber, and he with downcast face implored their blessing and the help of their counsel. The bishops clothed themselves with sackcloth and rode forth upon their asses to meet King Charles, praying all the way. They passed through Capua, and found the king encamped on the banks of the Garigliano. When near the camp they dismounted and walked in procession, each one preceded by a cleric bearing his crosier. The king saw them afar off, and being told that they were the bishops of Benevento, said, 'Why should they come to me, seeing they have already placed a crown of gold on their prince's head?' The bishops drew nigh and fell on their faces to the ground. At the king's command they arose trembling, and the king said to them, 'I see shepherds without any sheep.' Plucking up courage they said, 'The wolf hath come and scattered the sheep.' In angry tones the king said, 'Who is the wolf?' 'Yourself,' said the bishops boldly. Perceiving their courage the king replied more gently, 'I was born again in the sacred wave, am called a Christian, and often defend my body with the sign of the cross. Why do you call me wolf?' David, bishop of Benevento [1], said, 'Be not angry if I speak. With no desire to insult you do we liken you to a beast, but as the wolf tears the prey which he has caught, so if you became lord of our

[1] The epitaph on Romwald was written by this bishop.

Samnium would you, wolf-like, rend asunder the bodies of many Christians. The Lord says to you, "I from the last of the people made thee Emperor[1] (*sic*), gave thy enemy into thy hand, placed thy seed upon the throne, gave thee a toil-less triumph, and now thou seekest to triumph at the cost of My faithful ones whom I redeemed with My blood."' NOTE A.

(c. 11.) The Emperor pleaded that he was bound by his oath not to return till he had struck the breast of Arichis with his sceptre. The bishops reminded him of Herod's oath which led to the execution of John the Baptist and which he ought to have broken, but they said that they would find a way to enable him to fulfil his oath without harming any man.

Next day the king called upon them to fulfil their promise, and they led him to the church of St. Stephen (apparently in or near Capua). After prayers the king said, 'I will give Arichis high rank among my followers, only this one thing I insist upon, that he shall become my armour-bearer and servant[2].'

In great fear the bishops showed the king a great [mosaic] portrait of Arichis. The king in a rage accused them of making game of him, and said that unless they fulfilled their promise of bringing him into the presence of Arichis he would send them into banishment in Gaul.

Bishops. 'To Gaul if you like, or to Africa if you like. We have done what we promised and do not fear your threats.'

Charles. 'Did you promise to show me clay, or a man? variegated colours, or the real form of man?'

Bishops. 'Be not angry, Lord Emperor! Arichis himself is clay. God formed man out of the dust of the earth, and to dust we must all return. Fulfil your oath if you will on this picture of Arichis: for Arichis himself you shall not see till the Day of Judgment.'

The king in anger struck the breast of the pictured prince with his sceptre and caused the crown[3] which was upon his head to crumble and fall, adding these words: 'So be it with every one who puts upon his head that to which he has no right.' The bishops fell on their faces and adored Charles, praying that peace might at once be ratified. This was done: Grimwald was

[1] Of course Charles in the year 787 was not yet Emperor.

[2] The text is obscure here and my interpretation is doubtful.

[3] Probably a gilt crown, such as those in Byzantine mosaics.

NOTE A. handed over as a hostage; the bishops went back to their fields; the king returned by the way by which he had come, and one of the most eminent of the Frankish nobles was sent to Salerno to ratify the peace and receive the hostages.

(cc. 12–13.) When this ambassador arrived at the court of Arichis he was received with great pomp and passed through successive groups of courtiers.

First he saw lads holding sparrow-hawks and other birds in their hands; then young men in the flower of their age holding hawks; then middle-aged grey-haired men with various equipments; and lastly, old men, each bearing a staff in his hand.

The ambassador, as he came to each group, expected to find the king there[1], but each time was told to fare forward, and at last found Arichis on his golden throne, surrounded by the old men. When he saw him the ambassador fell prone on the ground and worshipped him, declaring that what he saw surpassed all the fame of his splendour. When he beheld all the wisdom of Arichis, his servants, his tables, and so forth, he was amazed, and [like the Queen of Sheba] there was no more spirit left in him.

There were some who said that Charles himself was present, disguised, in the train of the ambassador, in order that he might gaze on the far-famed magnificence of Arichis.

(c. 17.) After Arichis had reigned twenty-nine years and six months, being now in mature age, he died peacefully at Salerno, and was buried near the church of the Virgin. At the same time bishop Roppert presided over the Church, and for love of Arichis he caused a chamber to be erected over his tomb and that of his wife and son. For he was a man mild and courageous, and admirably imbued with liberal learning. Besides his fortification of Salerno, he built in it a palace of rare bigness and beauty, and on the north side a church in honour of Saints Peter and Paul, on the site, it is said, of an old sanctuary of Priapus; and there prince Arichis found a great idol of gold which he used for the gilding of the church.

(c. 18.) He was not puffed up nor elated by the great victory which he won over the Greeks (*sic*), but showed his gratitude to the Creator by clothing many poor people.

[1] The Monk of St. Gall (ii. 6) tells a similar story, probably a pure fiction, about the reception of the Byzantine ambassadors at the court of Charles.

(c. 23.) On the death of Arichis the people of Benevento sent to Charles begging him to restore Grimwald his son. Charles said to the young prince, 'I hear that thy father is dead,' and Grimwald answered, 'Lord Emperor! as far as I can conjecture, my father is safe and his glory will live for ever.' NOTE A.

(c. 24.) *Charles.* 'Thy father has really vanished from the light of day.'

Grimwald. 'From the day when I came under thy rule I have had neither father nor mother nor any kinsman but thee.'

Then the nobles who stood by said, 'He is worthy to receive the Samnite duchy.'

Charles. 'Dost thou wish to see thine own land again?'

Grimwald. 'I do, my Lord.'

Charles. 'Swear then that as soon as thou hast entered Salerno, thou wilt pull down its walls to the very foundations, and wilt deal in like manner with Cumsa and Aggerentia.'

(c. 25.) Having given this promise Grimwald was sent back to Benevento with many gifts, accompanied by two of Charles's most illustrious courtiers, Autharis and Paulipert, whom Grimwald was to enrich in his own principality and to marry to noble wives.

(cc. 26–29.) Ere they came to the Vulturno they were received by an immense multitude of his subjects. About one thousand people of both sexes and all ages poured forth from Benevento to meet the young prince, singing, 'Come, O shepherd of thy people, thou who after God art our salvation.' Having entered the city and paid his devotions in the church of the Virgin, he passed on to Salerno, where the welcome was even more enthusiastic than at Benevento. Here too were a thousand of his subjects, who shouted, 'Come, O lord! come thou who fearedst not to deliver over thine own body for thy sheep.' Here too he went to the church of the Virgin, implored pardon for his sins, and shed tears over the graves of his father and his brother.

The nobles complained of the proposed destruction of the splendid walls reared by the most pious father of the prince. When Grimwald pleaded the necessity laid upon him by his oath they acquiesced: 'Thou art our lord; do whatever is right in thine eyes.' Having built a new and safer stronghold at Veteri (Vietri), Grimwald returned to Salerno, [destroyed its walls,] and

NOTE A. went with a strong army to Cumsa. He so demolished the walls of this place (which is safe enough without any walls) that it looked like a ruined city. Then he went to Aggerentia (Acerenza), whose fortifications he also levelled, but built another stronger city near it. For not far from that city was a great mountain which he climbed and diligently surveyed, and as it pleased his eye he directed his men to build a city there. So he lingered in the territory of Apulia till that city was built to the top-stone. Then he travelled round the borders of Calabria, and great gifts were brought to him there.

CHAPTER III.

TASSILO OF BAVARIA.

Sources:—

The ANNALES LAURISSENSES are unusually full and detailed as to all the events connected with the fall of Tassilo. It has been suggested by Giesebrecht (Die Fränkischen Königsannalen und ihr Ursprung), that this circumstance points to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, as the author of these annals.

IN order not to interrupt the current of Italian, and especially of Papal history, I have postponed to the present chapter all mention of one of the most important of Charles's enterprises, and one too which very closely concerned the fallen Lombard dynasty. I allude to his long duel with his rebellious vassal, Tassilo, duke of Bavaria.

In a previous chapter we have glanced at the history of the Agilolfings, the ducal house of Bavaria, during the seventh and eighth centuries. We have seen them drawing into closer and closer ecclesiastical connection with Rome, but at the same time we have seen their political connection with the Frankish monarchy growing weaker and weaker, and in spite of Charles Martel's intervention in their affairs, in spite of his marrying the daughter of one duke [1] and

[1] Swanahild.

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giving his own daughter[1] in marriage to another, we have seen the position of the great lord who reigned at Ratisbon approximating more and more nearly to absolute independence. This tendency towards independence manifested itself in the most audacious manner when, in 763, the young duke Tassilo flatly refused any longer to follow the standards of his uncle and overlord Pippin in his campaign against Waifar of Aquitaine[2]. With the Teutonic ideas as to the obligation of military service, and especially as to the duty of the 'companion' to follow his lord to battle, and if need were to die in his defence in the thickest of the war-storm, this was to commit an almost unforgiveable offence, the grievous crime of *harisliz*. Politically too such a desertion was of evil omen for the future unity of the widespread Frankish realm. Thereby the young duke of the Bavarians seemed to say, 'What is it to me whether the men of Aquitaine obey the rule of my Austrasian uncle at his palace in Champagne, or whether they set up for themselves as an independent kingdom? Perhaps they will do well if they can accomplish this. We too, I and my Bavarians, are not too deeply enamoured of the rule of these domineering Franks.'

Tassilo's refusal to follow Pippin into Aquitaine.

But however insolent was the defiance thus thrown in the face of Pippin, that monarch, now waxing old and infirm, was too closely occupied by the long war with Aquitaine to have leisure to accept the challenge of Tassilo. At his death in 768, Bavaria under its Agilolfing duke must be considered as having been practically independent. Tassilo was probably already

[1] Hiltrudis, wife of Otilo.

[2] See vol. vii. p. 272.

at that date married to Liutperga, daughter of Desiderius [1].

Bertrada's journey of reconciliation.

Then came the good queen Bertrada's journey to Ratisbon and to Pavia [2] (770), the marriage-treaty which she concluded for her son with the delicate daughter of Desiderius, the short-lived league of friendship between Frank, Lombard and Bavarian. It seems that, as far as Charles and Tassilo were concerned, the way had been prepared for this reconciliation by Sturmi, abbot of Fulda, successor of the great Boniface. Intent on his great work of the Christianisation of the Saxons, he desired that the energies of the Frankish king by whom that work had to be accomplished should not be frittered away on needless wars in the south of Germany. Himself a Bavarian by birth, he undertook a mission from Charles to his native prince, and was so successful in his diplomacy that he established a peace between the two cousins which lasted for many years, and which apparently was not shaken by the repudiation of Desiderata, perhaps not even by the overthrow and exile of Desiderius [3]. One evidence of the long continuance of this friendship is furnished by the fact that in 778 he sent a detachment of soldiers to serve under Charles in that Spanish campaign which ended in the disaster of Roncesvalles [4].

Sturmi brings Charles and Tassilo into harmony with one another.

769 (?).

[1] 'Probably in one of the "sixty" years of the eighth century,' says Abel (i. 58, n. 5), 'not earlier than 764 and not later than 769.'

[2] See vol. vii. p. 313.

[3] 'Vixit deinceps sanctus Sturmi in gratiâ venerandi regis Karoli omne tempus vitae suae. Illis quoque temporibus, susceptâ legatione inter Karolum regem Francorum et Thasilonem Noricae provinciae ducem, per plures annos inter ipos amicitiam statuit' (Vita S. Sturmi, 22; ap. Pertz, ii. 376).

[4] Annales Laurissenses, s. a. 778.

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Tassilo's airs of semi-sovereignty.

But during all this time Tassilo was assuming the style of an independent sovereign. He summoned synods, over which he presided; he left out the name of Charles and inserted his own in public documents; he even ventured to speak in them of 'the year of my kingship[1].' Through the whole of this period Bavaria seems to have been prospering under his wise and statesmanlike rule. In the East he subdued and converted to Christianity the rough Sclovenes of Carinthia; in the South he recovered, probably by friendly arrangement with Desiderius, the places in the valley of the Adige which had been taken from his ancestors by Liutprand[2]. As a reward for his acknowledged services to Christianity, Tassilo's son Theodo (whom he made the partner of his throne in 777) was in 770 baptized at Rome by Hadrian[3].

Growing estrangement.

On all this increase of reputation and territory, however, Charles was not likely to look with favouring eye, so long as he must entertain the painful thought that this fair Danubian land, which had owned the sovereignty of the weakest Merovings, was daily slipping from his grasp. On his second visit to Rome (781) he appears to have discussed Bavarian affairs with his Papal host, and the result of their conversation was the despatch of a joint embassy to Tassilo (two bishops sent by the Pope, a deacon and grand butler by the king), 'to remind Duke Tassilo of the oaths which he

Embassy from Charles and Hadrian to Tassilo, 781.

[1] Abel, i. 52, n. 1; Waitz, Verf.-Gesch. iii. 106, n. 1.

[2] Abel, i. 59, n. 6: who remarks that the fact of this retrocession of territory being one of the conditions of the marriage of Liutperga is often stated too positively.

[3] Annales Admuntenses (apud Pertz, ix. 572): only a twelfth-century authority (quoted by Abel, i. 132).

had sworn long ago, and to warn him not to act otherwise than as he had sworn to the lords Pippin and Charles. And when these ambassadors in pursuance of their instructions had spoken with the aforesaid duke, so greatly was his heart softened, that he declared his willingness at once to proceed to the presence of the king' (who had by this time returned to Frank-land), 'if such hostages could be given as would leave him no doubt of his safety. On receipt of these hostages he went promptly to the king at Worms, swore the prescribed oath, and gave the twelve hostages who were required at his hands for the fulfilment of his promises, and whom Sindbert, bishop of Ratisbon, brought into the king's presence. But the said duke returning to his home did not long remain in the faith which he had sworn [1].'

BK. IX. CH. 3. 781.

The hollow truce thus concluded lasted for six years, till Charles's third visit to Rome. By this time he had, as he thought, thoroughly subdued the Saxons. Widukind had been baptized, and for the time there was peace in North Germany. In Italy, too, Arichis of Benevento had without bloodshed been brought to his knees, nor had his brother-in-law of Bavaria apparently stretched out a hand to help him. Yet Tassilo seems to have known that his position was insecure; he sent accordingly two envoys, Arno, bishop of Salzburg, and Hunric, abbot of Mond See, to beg the Pope to reconcile him with King Charles.

A hollow truce, 781–787.

The Pope seems to have honestly done his best to bring about the desired reconciliation. He earnestly besought Charles to renew friendly relations with his cousin of Bavaria. 'The very thing that I desire,' answered

Papal mediation.

[1] Ann. Laurissenses, s. a., combined with Ann. Einhardi.

BK. IX. CH. 3. 787.

Charles: 'I have been long seeking for the re-establishment of peace between us, but have not been able to accomplish it.' The envoys were called in, but when the Pope proceeded to examine them as to the conditions which Tassilo was willing to accept, it appeared that they were in no sense plenipotentiaries, and had no other commission than simply to hear and carry back to their master the words of the king and pontiff. At this Pope Hadrian, not without cause, lost his temper. 'Unstable and mendacious, false and fraudulent,' were the words which burst from his lips: and he proceeded to pronounce the anathema of the Church on Tassilo and all his followers unless he fulfilled to the letter the promise of obedience which he had sworn to Pippin and his son. 'Warn Tassilo,' said he to the envoys, 'that he prevent effusion of blood and the ravage of his land by manifesting entire obedience to his lord King Charles and his sons. If otherwise, if with hardened heart he refuse to obey my apostolic words, then King Charles and his army will be absolved from all peril of punishment for sin, and whatever shall happen in that land, burning or homicide or any other evil that may light on Tassilo and his partisans, lord Charles and his Franks will remain thereafter innocent of all blame.'

Synod of Worms, July, 787.

The annalist[1] then describes King Charles's return to his own land, his meeting with his queen Fastrada, and his convocation of a synod in Worms (July, 787), before which he declared all that had recently been done in the matter of the Bavarian duke. Once more an embassy was sent to remind Tassilo of the obligations of his oath and to summon him to the presence

[1] Annales Einhardi, s. a. 787.

of his lord. On his refusal to obey the summons Charles prepared for the invasion of Bavaria, and according to his favourite system of strategy, divided his army into three parts. He himself entered the country from the west by way of the river Lech and the city of Augsburg. The united forces of the Austrasian Franks, the Thuringians and the Saxons (for Charles already ventured to employ Saxons in his army) entered from the north-west, by way of Ingolstadt. The boy-king Pippin with his Italian forces came by way of the duchy of Trient and advanced as far as Botzen. Tassilo, seeing himself surrounded on all sides and conscious that many of his own nobles wavered in their fidelity (preferring doubtless the distant Frankish overlord to the near Agilolfing duke), threw up the game, came into the presence of Charles, confessed that he had sinned grievously against him, resigned into his hands the ducal dignity which he had received from Pippin[1], and received it back again on confessed terms of vassalage[2]. He again swore the oaths of fealty and gave thirteen hostages, his son Theodo being one of them, for the faithful performance of his promises. Satisfied herewith, King Charles returned to his

787. Charles invades Bavaria.

Tassilo submits.

Oct. 3, 787.

[1] From the Annales Guelferbytani (ap. Pertz, i. 43) we obtain the curious fact that Tassilo resigned his 'country' into the hands of Charles by the symbol of 'a wand, the top of which was carved into the likeness of a man,' probably wearing the Bavarian garb: 'Et illuc venit dux Tassilo, et reddit ei ipsam patriam cum baculo, in cujus capite similitudo hominis erat scultum (*sic*).'

[2] 'Tradens se in manibus regis Caroli in vassaticum [a very early use of the word] et reddens ducatum sibi commissum a domino Pippino rege et recredidit se in omnibus peccasse et male egisse' (Ann. Laur. s. a. 787).

BK. IX. CH. 3.

palace at Ingelheim on the Rhine[1] and there celebrated Christmas and Easter.

787-8.

The accord between the two cousins, the lord and the vassal, was of short duration. It was again proved that

> 'Never can true reconcilement grow
> Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.'

Renewed trouble, 788.

The early part of 788 was an anxious time for the Frankish king. War both with the Greeks and the Avars was evidently impending, and this was the time moreover when Hadrian was plying him with perpetual insinuations as to the hostile designs of Adelperga and her Beneventans and beseeching him not to surrender his hostage Grimwald. Tassilo it is true was humbled, but was not his very humiliation dangerous? Was he likely ever to forget that he came of an older and nobler line than that cousin who claimed him as his vassal; that his ancestors were dukes and all but kings of Bavaria, when the ancestors of Charles were but head-servants in Austrasia? And there were not only his own wrongs, but his wife's also, rankling in his mind. Liutperga's father had been dethroned and shut up in a monastery, her mother and sister had been forced to take the veil, her brother was wandering in hopeless exile; all these injuries cried aloud for vengeance, and smarting under their bitter memory she was—so men believed—even now urging on her husband to dangerous and treacherous designs.

Tassilo summoned to trial. June 6, 788.

Charles determined to deal first with the suspected rebel at home ere he struck at the enemy abroad. He called a general assembly of all his subjects, Franks and

[1] A little above Maintz.

Bavarians, Lombards and Saxons, to meet him at Ingelheim. Tassilo was summoned and did not dare to disobey the call. Sundry of his own Bavarian subjects appeared to bear witness against him. They accused him (1) of having opened treasonable communications with the Avars, (2) of having summoned to his court men who had 'commended' themselves as vassals to King Charles and then laid snares for their lives[1], (3) of having ordered his men when they swore [oaths of fealty to Charles] to practise 'mental reservation' and swear deceitfully[2], (4) of having said (doubtless with reference to the fact that his son Theodo was hostage for his fidelity), 'If I had ten sons, I would lose them all rather than stand by my sworn compact with the king. It is better for me to die than to live on these terms.' To none of these accusations, we are told, was Tassilo able to offer a denial, and in truth the gravest of them all, the accusation of treasonable correspondence with the Avars, was confirmed by an expedition of that barbarous people against Friuli and Bavaria, only a few months later. Pondering these charges, and taking account also of the old and never-atoned-for crime of *harisliz* against King Pippin in 763, the assembled nations judged the Bavarian duke guilty of death. Charles however, 'for the love of God and because he was his kinsman,' commuted the sentence to deposition from his ducal rank and confinement in a monastery. Tassilo bowed to the inevitable doom: he is even

BK. IX. CH. 3. 788.

Tassilo condemned and sent into a convent.

[1] This is apparently the meaning of the annalist: 'vassos supradicti domini regis ad se adortasse (*sic*) et in vitam eorum consiliasse' (Ann. Laur. ap. Pertz, i. 172).

[2] 'Ut aliter in mente retinerent et sub dolo jurarent' (Ibid.).

BK. IX. CH. 3. 788.

represented by the chronicler as entreating permission to enter a convent that he might there repent of his many sins. This, however, is doubtless the invention of the courtly historian. A more natural and more probable turn is given to the narrative by another annalist[1], who tells us that 'with many prayers he besought the king that he might not be shorn of his locks then and there in the palace, but might be spared the shame and humiliation of having this thing done to him in sight of all the Franks.' The king hearkened to his prayers, and he was sent to the place where the body of St. Goar reposes on the banks of the Rhine. There he was made a 'cleric,' and after that he was banished to the monastery of Jumièges[2]. His two sons, Theodo and Theotbert, his two daughters, and his wife, the Lombard Liutperga, were all sentenced to the same religious seclusion. Charles was averse, for the most part, to the shedding of blood, but he highly valued, for his enemies, the opportunities for meditation and prayer afforded by the monotonous stillness of the cloister. At the same time some persistently loyal adherents of Tassilo were banished the realm.

Tassilo at the synod of Frankfurt, 794.

Six years after these events the monk Tassilo was once more brought out into the light of day and obliged to face his victorious kinsman. At the synod of Frankfurt 'appeared that Tassilo who aforetime was duke of Bavaria, to pray for pardon for all the faults which he had committed whether in the time of King Pippin or King Charles, at the same time with pure mind laying aside all wrath and bitterness of spirit

[1] Ann. Nazarian. Contin. (ap. Pertz, i. 44).

[2] On the Seine, about thirty miles below Rouen.

for the punishment which had been inflicted upon him. As to his claims to property in Bavaria which had belonged to him or to any of his children, he utterly renounced[1] them all, and declared that no demand in respect of them should ever be made in future. And he commended his sons and daughters to the compassion of the king. Upon this, the king, moved with pity, freely forgave the aforesaid Tassilo for all the faults that he had committed against him, and promised him that he should live thenceforward in his favour and on his alms'; but did not apparently let him out of the monastery[2]. He had probably been brought forth from its seclusion only in order to cure some technical defect in the former acts of deposition and confiscation. Herewith the once magnificent Tassilo vanishes out of history, even the year of his death being unknown: and with him ends the great Agilolfing line which for two centuries had seen its fortunes so closely interwoven with those of the Lombard kings of Italy.

794.

[1] 'Gurpivit atque projecit.' Gurpire = werfen, 'to throw away.'

[2] The account of these proceedings is contained in the Acts of the Synod of Frankfurt (quoted by Simson, ii. 83).

CHAPTER IV.

TWO COURTS: CONSTANTINOPLE AND AACHEN.

BK. IX. CH. 4.

For Byzantine history—

Sources:—

THEOPHANES and NICEPHORUS (both contemporaries; see vol. vi. pp. 415–417).

Guides:—

Schlosser, 'Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser,' and *Bury*, 'History of the Later Roman Empire,' vol. ii.

For the Court of Charles the Great—

Sources:—

EINHARD, 'de Vitâ Karoli,' and the MONK OF ST. GALL (both previously described; see vol. vii. pp. 292–4).

Also the poets ANGILBERT and THEODULF, described in the text. Their poems are published in Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini in Mon. Hist. Ger.

Guides:—

Dr. Friedrich *Lorenz*, 'Karls des Grossen Privat- und Hof-Leben,' in v. *Raumer's* Historisches Taschenbuch, Leipzig, 1832 (a well-written sketch, though the author seems to me to place rather too much reliance on the gossip—not contemporary gossip—of the Monk of St. Gall).

Guizot in his Lectures on the History of Civilization in France has an admirable sketch of the literary characteristics of Charles's court.

I. *Constantinople.*

The palace at Constantinople.

THE Imperial palace at Constantinople at the period of which we are treating was a building already more than two centuries old, the Chrysotriklinion or Golden

Hall reared by Justin II in 570. Its garden front looked south-eastward to the near waters of the Bosphorus. North-westward it looked towards the building which was still called the Roman Senate-house, to the great Imperial forum known as the Augusteum, peopled with statues, and over that to the Hippodrome, where the charioteers of the Blue and the Green factions engaged in their maddening rivalry.

It was a building already haunted by some gloomy memories. From hence, if the popular legend were true, the Empress Sophia had sent the fatal distaff to Narses[1]. Hither came Heraclius to die, heart-broken by the Mohammedan conquest of Jerusalem, and here probably his widow Martina suffered the barbarous mutilation which was the punishment of her audacity in aspiring 'to reign over the Romans[2].' From this palace Constans was driven forth to his Cain-like wanderings over the world by the spectre of his murdered brother[3]; and here Justinian II, last scion of the race of Heraclius, spent the strange seventeen years of his mad misgovernment[4]. In this palace reigned, as we have seen, in the year 790, a woman and a young man—Irene, widow of Leo the Khazar, and her son Constantine VI. Irene was a woman in middle life, and Constantine was a youth of twenty. She was keen-witted, fond of power, with something perhaps of the old Athenian brilliancy, and certainly, as has been already said, with the old Athenian tendency to be 'wholly given to idolatry.' But as her image-loving propensities fell in with that which was finally the prevailing fashion in the Orthodox

Irene.

[1] See vol. v. p. 62.
[2] Vol. vi. pp. 19, 20.
[3] Ibid. p. 270.
[4] Ibid. p. 349.

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Church, the atrocious crimes which she committed were glossed over by the scribes of the convent, and they have even dared to speak of her to posterity as 'the most pious,' 'the God-guided,' 'the strong-souled and God-beloved Irene [1].'

It is a sore temptation to an ambitious woman to find herself in command of the great machinery of a despotic government, with only a boy, and that boy her own son, for her future rival. The formation of that son's character lies almost entirely in her own hands, and without forming at first any deliberate schemes of wickedness, it is easy for the mother to foster the boy's natural disposition to indolence or pleasure, or extravagance, and thus to destroy his chances of ever successfully competing with her for power. The instances of Catherine de' Medici and Catherine of Russia will at once occur to the reader's mind; but Irene was prepared for the sake of power to wade far deeper into crime than either of the Catherines.

Constantine VI tries to emancipate himself from her yoke, 790.

In the year 790 the long-repressed discontent of the young Emperor with his present position began to display itself. Over and above his disappointment at being commanded to marry the Armenian Maria instead of the Frankish Hrotrud [2], there was the daily annoyance of perceiving that while his presence-chamber was almost deserted, crowds of suppliants thronged the halls of Stauracius the logothete, the confidential adviser of his mother. Constantine was now twenty years old, and there were not wanting men of emi-

[1] Ἡ εὐσεβεστάτη (Theophanes; A. M. 6273), ἡ σοφὴ καὶ θεοφιλὴς Εἰρήνη (Ibid. 6295). Cf. also Nicephorus, Antirrheticus, p. 135 (p. 502 ed. Migne).

[2] See p. 16.

hence in the state (among them his tutor[1] John, who was chief captain of the guards, Peter the commander-in-chief[2], and two patricians, Theodore and Damian) to urge him to assert his rightful position, banish Irene to Sicily, and reign as sole Emperor. But on the 9th of February (790) it happened that the city was shaken by a great earthquake, which so alarmed the inhabitants that they all went and lodged in tents in the fields outside the city. Irene and her son took up their quarters in the precincts of the church of St. Mamas, north of the city wall and looking across the Golden Horn towards the Valley of Sweet Waters. Apparently this change in the arrangements of the imperial party led to the discovery of the plot. The coarse energy of Stauracius successfully asserted itself against the high-born conspirators. The nobles were flogged, tonsured, and shut up in their own palaces, and the tutor was banished to Sicily. Constantine himself, the young man of twenty, was beaten and scolded by his mother like a naughty child, and forbidden for many days to show himself in public.

790.

The new oath of abjuration.

In order to guard against any similar attempts in future, Irene caused an oath to be administered to all the regiments in the capital and its neighbourhood: 'So long as thou livest we will not suffer thy son to reign, and we will always put thy name before his.' But by this monstrous demand she prepared her own downfall. When the imperial messengers presented themselves to administer the new oath to the soldiers in the Armeniac 'theme,' those men, mindful of many a victorious battle fought under the leadership of the father and grandfather of Constantine, flatly refused

Sept. 790.

[1] 'Bajulus.' [2] 'Magister.'

BK. IX. CH. 4.

thus to disinherit the lawful heir for the benefit of the Athenian woman. Irene sent a certain Alexius,

790. Military revolution.

colonel of the palace-guards [1], to quell the mutiny, but the Armeniacs, shutting up their own general, gave the command to Alexius, and with jubilant shouts proclaimed Constantine sole Emperor. When the news of this *pronunciamento* reached Constantinople, all the other regiments, little hampered by their oaths, followed the example of the Armeniacs. On the 14th of October the legions were collected together in a place called Atroa [2], and insisted on Constantine coming forth to meet them. Irene did not dare to refuse their request. He came, and was unanimously acclaimed sole Emperor. Irene was allowed to retire to a palace of her own building, in which she had stored the greater part of her wealth. Stauracius suffered the usual fate of unsuccessful politicians at Constantinople, being flogged, tonsured, and sent into exile in Armenia. At the same time Michael Lachanodrakon, a war-famed veteran of the old Isaurian time, was made commander of the household troops [3].

791. Restoration of Irene.

In the following year Constantine engaged in two somewhat unsuccessful expeditions against Cardam, king of the Bulgarians, and against the generals of the Caliph Haroun-al-raschid in Cilicia. His absence from the capital, perhaps also his obvious inefficiency in war, encouraged the party of Irene once more to raise their heads, and in January of 792 the feeble young Emperor found, or imagined, himself compelled

[1] Δρουγγάριον (=χιλίαρχον) τῆς βίγλης (vigilum).

[2] Situation unknown: conjectured to be in Thrace.

[3] Doubtless Bury is right in suggesting (ii. 486) that μάγιστρος here means *Magister Praesentatis* (see vol. i. p. 217; 612 2nd ed.).

once more to associate his mother with himself in the government of the empire, and to receive again with her the acclamations of the multitude, 'Long life to Constantine and Irene.' With Irene came back Stauracius to help her in playing a slow, patient game for her son's ruin. 791.

Constantine defeated by the Bulgarians.

In July, 792, the young Emperor, yearning to emulate the great deeds of his ancestors and misled by the vain prediction of a certain 'false prophet and astronomer' named Pancratius, attacked Cardam in a strong position which he held with some of the bravest of his troops. The attack failed disastrously, and Constantine had to fly headlong, leaving his tents, his horses, and his royal furniture in the hands of the Bulgarians, and many of his best officers (including the brave old Lachanodrakon) dead on the field of battle. That the futile astronomer Pancratius shared the fate of the brave men whom he had lured to their ruin was the least part of the disaster.

Conspiracy on behalf of 'the Caesars.'

The ignominious end of the Bulgarian campaign made a great rent in the popularity of Constantine. Still worse for his fame was the severity with which he repressed an attempt to place his uncle Nicephorus, son of Constantine Copronymus, on the throne. Nicephorus was blinded, and his four brothers, two of whom had borne the title of Caesar, suffered the cruel Byzantine punishment of amputation of the tongue.

Ingratitude to Alexius and the Armeniac soldiers.

If there was one man more than another to whom Constantine owed his attainment of imperial power it was Alexius[1], who at a critical moment had headed the troops in the Armeniac theme when they acclaimed Constantine sole Imperator. Now, listening to the

[1] Surnamed Muselem. Had he Saracen blood in his veins?

BK. IX. CH. 4. 792.

evil surmisings of Irene and Stauracius, who suggested that Alexius was aiming at the diadem, he refused to accede to the demand of the Armeniac soldiers that their beloved commander, then detained in honourable captivity at Constantinople, should be restored to them; and on the repetition of the demand with shrill urgency, he ordered Alexius to be blinded. At the news of this infamous act of ingratitude, which showed too plainly that all the supporters of the son would be sacrificed to the vengeance of the mother, the Armeniac soldiers rose in rebellion. From November, 792, till the 27th of May, 793, there was civil war in the Armeniac theme, and it was only by mustering all his forces, and at last by employing the base services of traitors, that eventually, on the date just mentioned, Constantine prevailed over his old allies. The chief officers and an iconoclastic bishop who had headed the revolt were put to death. The other leaders were severely punished with fines and proscriptions; and as for the rank and file, one thousand of them were brought chained into the city of Constantinople through the gate of Blachernae, and led ignominiously through the streets, bearing on each of their foreheads the words, tattooed in ink, 'Armeniac Conspirator.' Such were the rewards which the weak youth at his cruel mother's instigation conferred on his old supporters.

Civil war.

The revolt suppressed.

June 24, 793.

Grievously indeed, in the three years since he grasped the reins of power, had Constantine declined in the favour of his subjects, and he now proceeded to an act which brought him into hostility, not merely with the Church, but with all that was best and healthiest in the lay world of Constantinople. He had always disliked his wife Maria, and now 'by the advice of his

Constantine's divorce and remarriage.

mother, who in her longing for power wished that he should be condemned by all[1], he constrained that wife to enter a convent, and in August, 795, crowned as Augusta his paramour Theodote, one of the ladies-in-waiting on Irene. The next step, after the coronation and the avowed cohabitation, was to obtain the sanction of the Church to the marriage, and this, even with the submissive Church of Constantinople, was not an easy matter. The patriarch Tarasius refused to perform the ceremony, but consented at last to stand aside and allow another ecclesiastic, the abbot Joseph, to officiate in his stead. In September, 795, Constantine and Theodote were solemnly married in the palace of St. Mamas.

795.

Ecclesiastical censures; Plato and Theodore.

The Church of the Middle Ages, whether in Eastern or Western Europe, never seems more worthy of our respect than when she is upholding the rights of an injured wife and refusing to allow powerful princes to treat the sacred laws of marriage as of no account for persons in their high position. The part which Innocent III played as champion of Ingeberga, the repudiated wife of Philip Augustus, was taken in the case of the divorced Maria by Plato and Theodore, an uncle and nephew, heads of the renowned monastery of Saccudia on the flanks of the Bithynian Olympus. On Theodore[2], as the younger man, fell the brunt of the battle, but Plato also felt the heavy hand of the imperial bigamist, for announcing to Tarasius that he could no longer hold communion with him on

[1] These are the remarkable words of Theophanes, the zealous admirer of 'the most pious Irene': *Ὑποβολῇ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρὸς ἐφιεμένης τῆς ἀρχῆς πρὸς τὸ καταγνωσθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πάντων.*

[2] Afterwards surnamed Studita, from the monastery of which he was abbot.

BK. IX. CH. 4. 795-6.

account of his connivance at an adulterous union. It is true that Constantine and his new Empress—herself a cousin of Theodore's—resorted to almost abject entreaties in order to disarm Plato's just indignation [1], but when these proved fruitless the imperial thunderbolt fell on the inmates and the neighbours of the Bithynian convent. Plato was brought to Constantinople and shut up in a narrow cell in the precincts of the palace, while Theodore, his brothers, and the other monks were sent under an imperial escort into exile at Thessalonica. In a long and interesting letter to his uncle [2], Theodore describes the incidents of this journey. The letter does not give one the impression of any great hardships endured or severity displayed, but what it does show us is that in every town there was a large number of persons who sympathized with the monkish martyr and were indignant at his punishment. Assuredly some rivets in the ship of the state were loosened by the imprisonment of Plato and the exile of Theodore Studita.

In the embittered and unnatural relations which now existed between Irene and her son, even the events which should have consolidated the dynasty hastened its downfall. In October (796) the young Emperor, while taking the warm baths at Broussa, heard the joyful news that his wife, who remained at Constantinople, had borne him a son. He hastened off to the palace eager to welcome the longed-for heir, to whom he gave the name of his father, Leo. Meanwhile Irene, who had gone with him to Broussa, began

Birth of a son, Oct. 796.

[1] This fact is well brought out by Schlosser, pp. 314–317. In this case Constantine was not a willing persecutor.

[2] Translated by Schlosser, pp. 319–324.

to tamper with the allegiance of the soldiers, and by all sorts of gifts and promises to form a party among the officers, pledged to destroy her son and make her sole Empress. In March (797), Constantine, who had returned to Bithynia, set forth with a body of picked light-armed soldiers, amounting to 20,000 men, to fight the Saracens. The expedition ought to have achieved a great success, but the old intriguer Stauracius, knowing that victory would make Constantine's position impregnable, bribed the imperial scouts to bring in a lying report that the Saracens had fled and were nowhere to be seen. The easily-fooled Emperor returned home again inglorious, and deep discontent doubtless pervaded the whole army at such a display of military inefficiency on the part of the grandson of the great Copronymus.

797.

Another inglorious campaign, 797.

On the 1st of May the child Leo died, and was bewailed by his tender-hearted father with floods of tears. On the 17th of June, after a great chariot-race in the Hippodrome, the Emperor sought the shade and sea-breezes of the shore below St. Mamas. On the road an attempt, an unsuccessful attempt, was made by the conspirators to seize him, but being warned in time he embarked hastily in the imperial gondola[1] and escaped to the opposite shore of the sea of Marmora[2], intending to flee to the Anatolic theme[3], where the descendant of the great Isaurians was sure to find a welcome and a shelter[4]. But the very companions of

Explosion of the conspiracy.

[1] So we may perhaps translate χελάνδιον: a swift row-boat.

[2] First to Pylae, about twenty miles north-west of Nicaea, then to Triton, a site apparently not yet identified.

[3] = Phrygia.

[4] As pointed out by Bury (ii. 488).

BK. IX. CH. 4.

797.

his flight, though he knew it not, were traitors. The people began to rally round their fugitive sovereign. Irene, who felt that it was now a fight to the death between her and her son, became alarmed. She feigned a desire for reconciliation, sent mediators, sent bishops to beg for a guarantee of her own personal safety, and offered, if that were given, to retire into a corner of the palace and spend the rest of her days in obscurity[1]. Meanwhile, however, she was writing to her fellow-conspirators, 'If you do not find some means to hand him over to me at once, I shall reveal to the Emperor all that has passed between you and me.'

Constantine seized, deposed and blinded, Aug. 15, 797.

Alarmed, the conspirators arrested Constantine early on the 15th of August, the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin[2], hurried him on board the imperial boat, and carried him across to Constantinople. There he was imprisoned in the same Purple Chamber of the palace in which, twenty-seven years before, his birth-cry had been heard by the woman who was now consenting to his death. With brutal violence the conspirators plucked out his eyes, desiring that he should perish under the ghastly operation[3]. He did not however die, but lingered on for at least twenty-

[1] Καὶ ἐσκέπτετο ἀπολῦσαι ἐπισκόπους πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λαβεῖν. λόγον καὶ καθίσαι εἰς γωνίαν. Had the words been uttered in a more northern climate, we might have translated them 'to retire into the chimney-corner for the rest of her life.'

[2] It is said by an annotator that this is the meaning of the words of Theophanes, ἐκράτησαν αὐτὸν εἰς παράκλησιν, and as the Assumption is celebrated on the 15th of August the explanation seems to me a probable one.

[3] Ἐκτυφλωῦσιν αὐτὸν δεινῶς καὶ ἀνιάτως πρὸς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. The Historia Miscella erroneously translates 'ita ut mors subsequens confestim extingueret,' and has been followed herein by many other historians.

three years[1], but so broken and miserable in his blindness that in all the many palace-revolutions of the time no one thought of restoring to the throne the last male descendant of Leo the Isaurian[2]. BK. IX. CH. 4. 797.

So terrible a deed as this, the worse than murder of a son by the order of his own mother, shocked even the courtiers and ecclesiastics of Constantinople, inured as they were to tidings of barbarities from the imperial palace. On the one hand, men noted, that as it was at the ninth hour (3 P. M. on Saturday the 15th of August) that Constantine VI was blinded and all but slain, so it had been on the ninth hour on the same day of the week in September, five years before, that his uncle Nicephorus had been blinded and his four other uncles mutilated by the order of the young Emperor. But again, after this deed of wickedness was done, 'the sun,' says Theophanes, 'was darkened for seventeen days, and did not give forth his rays, so that ships wandered about and drifted hither and thither, and all men said and confessed that on account of the blinding of the Emperor the sun withheld his beams. And thus did Irene his mother acquire the sovereignty.'

Reign of Irene, 797-803.

She was indeed 'cursed with the burden of a granted prayer,' this devout Medea, who had had no pity for the fruit of her body, when maternal love was weighed in the balance against the lust of empire and found wanting. The history of her short reign is only a record of disastrous defeats and provinces ravaged by the Saracens, of attempts cruelly suppressed to

[1] Till the reign of Michael the Stammerer (820–829): Chron. jussu Const. Porphyr. conscriptum; quoted by Schlosser, p. 329.

[2] His daughter Euphrosyne married Michael II, but left no issue.

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set one or other of the mutilated sons of Copronymus on the throne, of bickerings between Irene's eunuch-ministers, Stauracius and Aetius, each of whom, watching with hungry eyes the failing health of his imperial mistress, was scheming to secure the splendid prize of the diadem for some relation of his own.

Irene in triumph.

On Easter Monday, 799, the Empress made a solemn procession through the streets of Constantinople, starting from the great Church of the Holy Apostles; where all the Emperors and Patriarchs who had ruled the State and Church for near five centuries lay entombed. Irene sat aloft on a golden car, drawn by four milk-white steeds; and four patricians, groom-like, walked by the side of the horses. Imitating the custom of the old Roman consuls, she scattered money among the crowd as she moved along, and doubtless their venal throats became hoarse with cries of 'Many years to the new Helena! Long life to the August Irene!' But under all this show of devotion there was evidently a feeling that a new and a monstrous thing had happened in 'the Empire of the World[1].' It was not merely that the pious idolater had stained herself, Athaliah-like, with the blood of her own offspring. It was that no woman, however virtuous or however beloved, had a right to sit alone on the throne of the Caesars. It was true that Pulcheria, that manly-minded woman, had been hailed as Augusta on the death of the brother whose counsels she had guided, but that was with the implied condition that she should make Marcian the partner of her throne[2]. True that Theodora and

Condemnation of a female rule.

[1] Ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχή.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 108 (97).

Sophia had at the request of their doting husbands received from the Senate the same splendid title, but that was only as consorts of the reigning Emperor, nor had the influence of either Theodora or Sophia been obviously beneficial to the Empire[1]. But the latest and the most striking instance of the foiled attempt of a woman to occupy the imperial throne was the case of Martina, widow of Heraclius, to whom, when she stood forth in the Hippodrome claiming to rule along with her son and step-son, the populace shouted, 'O Lady, how can you receive the ambassadors of the barbarians or exchange words with them when they come to the imperial palace? God preserve the polity of the Romans from ever coming into such a condition as that[2].'

The fact was, that there was ever a lingering consciousness that the Roman Imperator had come to his power in a different way and was altogether a different kind of ruler from the despotic kings and queens of the East. True, those Oriental monarchies might have had their Semiramis or their Dido, their Tomyris or their Queen of Sheba; but these were no precedents for the Roman State, which was still in theory a republic, and whose head was in theory—however absurdly different might be the customary fact—a brave general who, having won a victory over the enemies of Rome, was saluted by his enthusiastic soldiers with the title Imperator.

Thus the outcome of the whole matter was that at the close of the eighth century there was a generally

[1] Vol. iii. p. 605 (545); v. p. 59.

[2] Nicephorus (De Reb. post Maur. gestis, 32). See vol. vi. pp. 19–20.

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diffused feeling that 'a wonderful and a horrible thing had been done in the polity of the Romans,' and that the woman who called herself Augusta and rode in her golden chariot through the streets of Constantinople had no right to the name or the magnificence of the Emperors of Rome.

II. *Aachen.*

We now turn from the Bosphorus to the Rhine; from the dull splendour of the Byzantine palace to the fresh if somewhat rude magnificence of the Frankish *villa*; from that Fury-haunted abode where a widowed mother plotted the ruin of her only son, to the joyous cavalcade of Charles and his daughters, as they rode with mirth and song from palace to palace of the beautiful Rhine-land.

Charles's love for the neighbourhood of the Rhine.

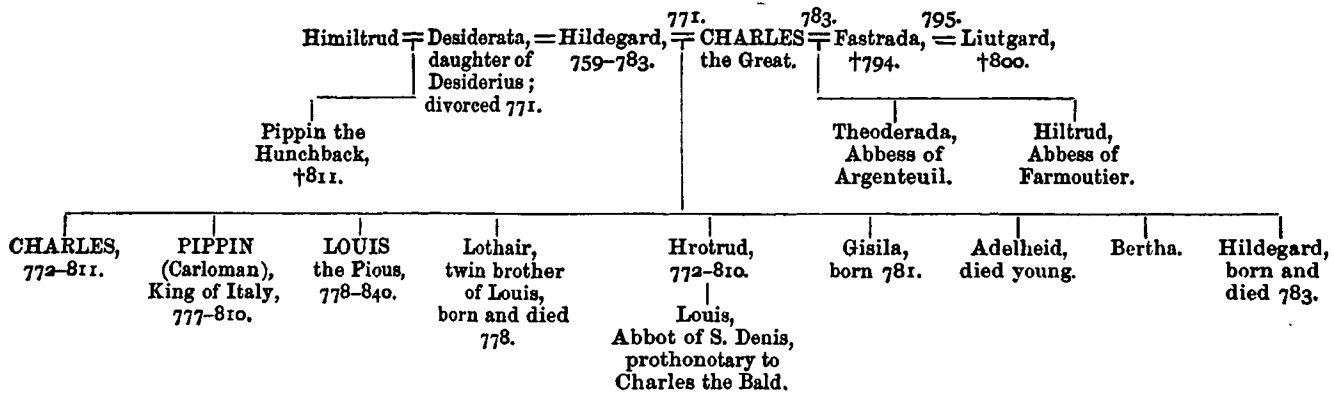
The list of Charles's resting-places after his campaigns were ended, shows us in the clearest manner where his heart was fixed. He had inherited sovereignty over the country which we now call France, but apparently he only once visited Paris[1]. He completed the conquest of Aquitaine, but he spent only one Easter in that region[2]. He made himself master of Italy, yet only thrice after his conquest did he visit Rome, and then half-reluctantly, on the urgent invitation of the Pope to settle the troubled affairs of the peninsula or to take part in some great religious ceremony. He had been born a Ripuarian Frank, and Ripuarian he remained to the end of his days, never happy

[1] In the summer of 800.

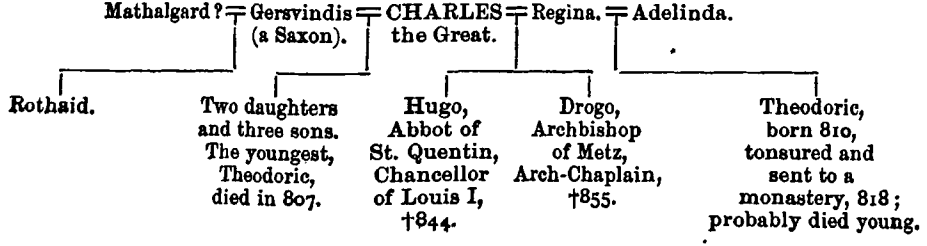
[2] At Chasseneuil in 778, the year of Roncesvalles.

FAMILY OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

(*Legitimate.*)



(*Illegitimate.*)


Mathalgard?
Gersvindis (a Saxon).
CHARLES the Great.
Regina.
Adelinda.
Rothaid.
Two daughters and three sons. The youngest, Theodoric, died in 807.
Hugo, Abbot of St. Quentin, Chancellor of Louis I, †844.
Drogo, Archbishop of Metz, Arch-Chaplain, †855.
Theodoric, born 810, tonsured and sent to a monastery, 818; probably died young.

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when far away from the banks of the great German river by whose shores rose three of his great palaces, at Worms, at Ingelheim [1], and at Nimwegen, and which was lined with the stately Romanesque churches that told of his pious munificence. It was not actually by the banks of the Rhine, but in its neighbourhood, between it and the sister stream, the Meuse, that Charles built the last, perhaps the stateliest of his palaces, certainly the one which was longest connected with the memory of his greatness. Unmentioned in the literature and even in the road-books of the Romans, but certainly known to some of the Roman officers, the warm sulphur-springs of Aquae Grani bubbled out of the hills overlooking the Meuse, forty miles south-west of that city on the Rhine which was emphatically called Colonia [2]. The earliest name of the town which grew up around these springs was derived from a surname of Apollo which was widely known in the north of Europe, though here again the classical authors are silent concerning it [3]. This is the place which the Germans call Aachen, and the French, from the memory of Charles's great Christian temple, call Aix-la-Chapelle.

His palace at Aquae Grani (Aachen, Aix-la-Chapelle).

It was in 788, just after the Byzantine invasion of

[1] Near Mainz. The 'Saxon Poet' tells us that to this palace he brought columns both from Rome and Ravenna (v. 439–440).

[2] Cologne.

[3] Grannus as a surname of Apollo is found on inscriptions in Scotland (Corp. Inscr. Lat. vii. 1082), Würtemberg and Rhenish Prussia (Steiner's Cod. Ins. Rom. 43 and 1553), and Bavaria (Lauingen on the Danube; Ibid. 2558, 2559). At the last place there seems to have been a regular temple to Apollo Grannus, and the coupling of his name with Sancta Hygeia shows that it is Apollo the Healer that is here commemorated.

Italy, that Charles kept his first Christmas at Aachen, and from this time onwards it begins to dispute with Heristal in Brabant and Worms on the Rhine the honour of being his favourite place of abode. From 795 to the end of his life it held the undisputed preëminence, thirteen out of his twenty remaining Easters and fourteen Christmases being spent beside the healing waters of Grannus. For the great attraction of the place, though it has a fresh and salubrious air, lay in those thermal waters heated by Nature to a temperature varying from 82° to 99° (Fahrenheit), and richly laden with salt, sulphur and carbonic acid. At the time when Charles began to pay more frequent visits to Aquae Grani he was entering the sixth decade of his life, and was probably beginning to feel those rheumatic or gouty pains which so often hang about the vestibule of old age, and which saline or sulphurous waters generally alleviate. One of the poets of his court describes the occupation of the labourers employed in searching for new hot springs, surrounding them with walls, and fixing magnificent seats on the marble steps [1]. Charles himself, who was a strong and swift swimmer, would often invite, not only his sons but his friends and ministers of state, sometimes even his men-servants and body-guards, to accompany him to the bath, so that there would often be a hundred men or more swimming about together in the wide, warm pools of Grannus [2].

Thermal waters of Aachen.

[1] Angilbert, Carm. vi. 106–8:—

'Hic alii thermas calidas reperire laborant,
Balnea sponte suâ ferventia mole recludunt,
Marmoreis gradibus spaciosa sedilia pangunt.'

[2] Einhardi Vita Karoli, 22.

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Thus then it came to pass that a Westphalian watering-place became the favourite residence of the Frankish king, and afterwards the second city of his empire. The minster of Aachen was the regular crowning-place of the Western Emperors for seven centuries, and in it thirty-seven kings and ten queens received the sacred diadem. In the sixteenth century this privilege was transferred to Frankfurt; a terrible fire which broke forth at Aachen in 1656 destroyed two-thirds of the city; it underwent a rapid decline, and though its cloth factories and the high repute of its thermal waters have restored some of its old prosperity, it has of course never regained the importance as a political centre which it possessed in the long ages from Charles the Great to Charles the Fifth.

Charles's palace.

The palace which Charles built at Aachen, and to which he transported the great brazen statue of Theodoric from Ravenna[1], has long since perished. In 881 the fire kindled by the invading Danes injured it; in 978 a degenerate descendant of Charles, the Frenchman Lothair, allowed his soldiers to plunder it. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was twice ruined by fire. Finally, in 1353, a Town-hall, which again in our own days (1883) has suffered from fire, was built over its ruins.

The Church of the Virgin.

But the great basilica which Charles founded at Aachen in honour of the Virgin, and which according to Einhard[2] 'he adorned with gold and silver, and candelabra and *cancelli* and gates of solid brass, and with columns and marbles brought from Rome and Ravenna,' still stands, at least the most important part of it. This is the octagonal chapel, built after the model

[1] Vol. iii. p. 340 (306). [2] Vit. Kar. 26.

of S. Vitale at Ravenna, to which an *atrium* at the west end and a splendid choir at the east were added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus Charles's church with its remembrance of S. Vitale stands supported on either side by its younger and taller brethren, as if marking the beginning and the end of the Middle Ages.

The hunting-ground.

The palace stood on the edge of a vast pleasaunce [1], green with woods and bright with waters, through which herds of deer wandered, and in which Charles and his courtiers often enjoyed the pleasures of the chase, or watched the evolutions of the young horsemen of the court in games which almost anticipated the medieval tournament. It was doubtless in this wide-stretching park that one Oriental visitor passed most of his European life. This was the great elephant Abulahaz (a present from the Caliph Haroun-al-raschid), whose arrival in Frank-land in 802 and death in 810 on a campaign of its master against the king of Denmark are solemnly recorded by the chroniclers.

Personal appearance of Charles the Great.

Of Charles himself, the centre of the busy scene at Aquae Grani, and his manner of life there, a vivid picture is given us by his biographer Einhard [2]. Of his commanding stature, bright eyes, long hair, and

[1] Described by Angilbert, Carm. vi. 137–157.

[2] The following description of Charles's appearance and manner of life is entirely taken from Einhardi Vita Karoli. How closely this description is modelled on Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars is shown by Jaffé, who in his Monumenta Carolina, pp. 501–503, has collected a number of Suetonian passages which must have been in Einhard's mind when he wrote. But I do not think this need shake our confidence in the general accuracy of Einhard's portraiture. He seems to me to have gone through the Lives of the Caesars carefully, partly in order to model his own style

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manly carriage this biographer has already told us[1]. He further informs us that his neck was somewhat too short for symmetry, and his belly prominent; but the shapeliness of his other members concealed these defects. His voice was clear, but hardly so loud as one would have expected from his giant frame. His health till he had passed his sixty-eighth year was excellent; but for the last four years of his life he suffered from frequent fevers and limped with one foot. All these troubles, however, lie yet ahead of us. We are still only at the date 795, and the Frankish hero has reached but the fifty-third year of his life. We hear with some amusement that, sick or in health, he insisted on regulating himself according to his own notions, rather than by the counsel of his physicians, whom he wellnigh hated because they always recommended him to eat boiled meat instead of roast.

His costume.

Except on the memorable occasions of his visits to Rome he wore the national Frankish dress—shirt and drawers of linen, a tunic fastened by a silken girdle, and leggings[2]. His thighs were bound round with thongs[3], his feet with [laced-up] shoes. In the winter he protected his chest and shoulders with a vest of otter-skins and ermine. Over all he wore a blue cloak, and he was ever girt with a sword, whose hilt and belt were either of gold or silver. Sometimes, but only at high festivals or when he was receiving the ambassadors of foreign nations, he wore

upon them, but partly in order to see where the mode of life of his hero agreed, and where (often in very small points) it differed from that of the first Roman Emperors.

[1] See vol. vii. p. 376.

[2] 'Tibialia': of leather? The material is not mentioned.

[3] 'Fasciolis.'

a jewelled sword. At these festivals also he wore a robe inwoven with gold, shoes bedecked with jewels, a golden clasp holding his cloak together, and a diadem of gold adorned with precious gems. On all other days, his dress varied little from the ordinary costume of his people.

His *levée*.

On rising, Charles appears to have held something in the nature of a *levée*; for while his clothes were being put on and his shoes fastened, not only were his friends admitted to his presence, but if the Count of the Palace had any hard case which required his decision, Charles would call the litigants before him and pronounce sentence as if he were sitting on the judgment-seat. So too, at this time, he would give the necessary orders to any of his ministers or the heads of his household.

His diet.

He was very temperate in the matter of drink, holding drunkenness in uttermost abomination, especially in himself and those nearest to him. In the matter of feeding he was also temperate, but hardly came up to the Church's standard of abstinence, complaining that her rigid fasts were injurious to his health. After the mid-day meal in summer time he would eat an apple and take some cooling drink, and then doff his upper garments and shoes, and sleep as if it were night for two or three hours together. The evening banquet[1] was evidently the chief meal of the day. On high festivals he invited a large number of guests, but generally he supped alone with his family. The ordinary meal consisted of only three or four courses besides the roasted game, to which he was most partial, and which the hunters were wont to bring in on spits.

[1] 'Coena.'

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While he was dining, he listened either to music or to the reading of a book, especially a book of history telling of the deeds of the past, or the works of St. Augustine, among which the treatise on the City of God was his chief favourite.

His favourites in literature.

His sleep at night—perhaps partly owing to his long *siesta* in the day—was not sound. He would often wake four or five times, and he sometimes beguiled the wakeful hours by trying to form letters on the tablets which for this purpose were always placed under his pillow. But he began the study of calligraphy so late in life that he never therein achieved any great success.

His eloquence.

He had a fine flow of natural eloquence, and could, when he chose, express his thoughts with perfect clearness. In fact, so great was his readiness in speaking that it sometimes almost amounted to loquacity. He studied foreign languages, and was accustomed often to pray in Latin. Greek he could understand fairly well, though he never mastered its pronunciation. But after all, his own native Teutonic tongue was dearest to his heart. He began to compose a grammar of the Frankish language, and he wrote down and committed to memory the ancient and (as Einhard deemed them) 'barbarous' songs in which the deeds and wars of the old kings were celebrated. Would that his successors had taken the same interest in the true national literature of the German races! But Charles's successor Louis, himself more than half a monk and bred up in latinised Aquitaine, cared not for these spirit-stirring songs of his Ripuarian forefathers [1], and so

[1] 'Poetica carmina gentilia quae in juventute didicerat respuit, nec legere, nec audire, nec docere voluit' (Thegan, Vita Ludov.

'they soon for the most part died out of the memory of men. Truly we at this day find it harder to forgive the 'debonnair' Louis for the loss of his father's ballad-book than even for the ruin of his father's Empire.

Somewhat anticipating the modern tendency of our German kinsfolk to use only home-grown words even in scientific terminology, Charles invented Frankish names for the twelve months[1], and enlarged the number of names of the winds from four to twelve.

His piety.

We do not need the biographer's assurance that Charles 'most reverently and with the utmost piety cultivated the Christian religion with which he had been imbued from infancy,' nor that 'beyond all other holy places he venerated the church of the blessed Apostle Peter at Rome.' Morning and evening, and at all hours of the day or night when the sacrifice of the Mass was being offered, he was zealous in his attendance at church so long as his health permitted. He was extremely careful that all things pertaining

Imperat. cap. xix. Phillips (Karl der Grosse im Kreise der Gelehrten, p. 175) has some good remarks on this.

[1] These are Charles's names for the twelve months, some of which remind us of the Brumaire and Ventose of the French revolutionary calendar:—

January .	*Wintar-manoth* .	Winter-month.
February .	*Hornung* . .	
March .	*Lentzin-manoth* .	Spring-month (German: *Lenz*).
April .	*Ostar-manoth* .	Easter-month.
May . .	*Winnemanoth* .	Love-month.
June .	*Brachmanoth* .	
July . .	*Hewi-manoth* .	Hay-month.
August .	*Aran-manoth* .	Earing (harvest) month.
September	*Witu-manoth* .	
October .	*Windume-manoth*	Storm-month.
November	*Herbist-manoth* .	Autumn-month.
December .	*Heilag-manoth* .	Holy (Christmas) month.

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to divine worship should be done decently and in order, and would often admonish the vergers not to allow anything common or unclean to be brought into the church or remain within its precincts. He made lavish provision of gold and silver vessels for the service of the sanctuary, and his supply of vestments was so liberal that even the doorkeepers were clothed in them. He took a keen interest in the subject of the Church's psalmody, following herein the example of his father, who had introduced the Gregorian music into the churches of Gaul; but he gave even more attention to the lectionary and homilies of the Church, eradicating to the utmost of his power the barbarisms which a succession of ignorant priests had introduced into their reading and preaching to the people [1].

His rebuke of the worldliness of the clergy.

But vivid as was Charles's interest in ecclesiastical affairs, and zealous as was his championship of the faith against pagans and heretics, the contrast between the professions and the practice of churchmen did not escape his keen intelligence. 'We wish,' he says in one of his capitularies [2], 'to ask the chief ecclesiastics and all those who are engaged in teaching from the Holy Scriptures, who are those to whom the Apostle saith, "Be ye imitators of me"? or what he meant when he said, "No one who is a soldier of God entangleth himself with the things of this world"? How is the Apostle to be imitated? How is any one to be a soldier of God? Pray let them show us truly what is meant by that "renouncing the world" of which they so often speak, and explain how we are to distinguish between those who renounce and

[1] Capitulare Ecclesiasticum (ap. Migne, Patrologia, 150–183).

[2] Cap. Duplex Aquisgranense (811), ap. Migne, 330.

'those who follow the world. Is the difference only in this, that the former do not bear arms and are not publicly married? I would enquire also if that man can be said to have renounced the world who is unceasingly striving to augment his possessions by drawing persuasive pictures of the blessedness of heaven, and by threatening men with the everlasting punishments of hell? or that man who, in the name of God or of some saint, is for ever stripping simpler people, rich or poor, of their possessions, disinheriting the lawful heirs, and driving men thus unjustly deprived of their paternal estates to robbery and all sorts of crimes, the result of the dire necessities of their position?'

One asks oneself in reading such sentences as these whether Charles was thinking of certain letters of Hadrian, in which all the machinery of the joys of paradise and the terrors of hell was brought into action in order to add Comacchio or Capua to the Papal territory.

Charles's family relations.

We must not, however, enter here on the wide question of the great king's relation to the Church. It is with Charles as head of a family and centre of a court that we have here to deal. At the date which we have now reached most of Hildegard's children were grown up. Hrotrud, the once-destined bride of Constantine, was twenty-three years of age. Nearly as old was her brother Charles, Pippin king of Italy was eighteen, Louis king of Aquitaine was seventeen years old. Probably that antagonism between the younger Charles and Pippin which was to embitter some of the later years of their father's life had already declared itself, but the two young kings of Italy and

795.

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Aquitaine grew up each in his own kingdom, and only occasionally formed part of their father's court. Fastrada was now dead, but had left two daughters, probably little more than children. The Alamannian lady Liutgard, once mistress, afterwards wedded wife of Charles, was perhaps already sitting as queen in the palace at Aachen. Of the young tribe of princes and princesses whose mirth was dear to their father's heart Einhard gives us an attractive picture, yet one that is not without its shadows :—

'He determined that his children should be so educated that sons as well as daughters should be trained in liberal studies, to which he himself also gave earnest heed. The sons, as soon as their age permitted, were taught to ride after the manner of the Franks, and were practised in the use of arms and in the exercises of the chase. The daughters were ordered to learn to use the distaff and spindle, and to busy themselves with wool-work that they might not grow slothful through too much leisure.

'He took so keen an interest in the education of his sons and daughters that he never supped without them when at home, and never deprived himself of their company when travelling. On such journeys his sons rode beside him, and his daughters followed behind with a strong rear-guard of soldiers.

'As these daughters were most beautiful and he loved them dearly, it was strange that he never gave one of them in marriage, either to one of his own people or to a foreigner, but kept them always with him in the house till the day of his death, declaring that he could not dispense with their daily companionship. On this account, prosperous as he was in other

respects, he had to endure the malignity of adverse fortune, but he so concealed his feelings that no one could ever tell that he was aware of any shadow of disgrace having fallen upon the good name of his daughters.'

The scandals thus gently hinted at by Einhard have not grown smaller in the gossip of posterity, which has even (apparently without justification) coupled Einhard's own name with that of a supposed daughter of Charles, named Emma, in a well-known story of illicit love. But some of these domestic 'misfortunes' of Charles left unmistakeable traces in Carolingian pedigrees. Princess Hrotrud herself, who died in her thirty-ninth year (810), though never married, left a son Louis, who was afterwards abbot of S. Denis, and prothonotary to her nephew Charles the Bald.

His love of the companionship of learned men.

Much as he loved the merry talk of his daughters, Charles in the midst of his warlike and peaceful cares delighted none the less in the companionship of the most learned men of his age whom he succeeded in gathering round him. Indeed, this is beyond all his other achievements the distinguishing glory of his character and his reign, that he, though himself imperfectly educated, knew how to appreciate the learning of others, and, turning back the tide of barbarism and ignorance which had submerged Gaul since the days of Clovis, made himself the centre and the rallying-point of a literary and scientific movement, hardly less important than the great Renascence of the fifteenth century. It is one of the many points of resemblance between these two periods of Renascence, that the little literary and ecclesiastical *coterie* which gathered round Charles at the end of the eighth

Adoption of Latin names.

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century took names—for the most part classical names—by which they were known to one another in their correspondence, instead of the rough Teutonic ones which they had received from their fathers, and of which they were perhaps partly tired and partly ashamed [1].

Charles's own *sobriquet* was not classical, but biblical. He was King David, a name well chosen to symbolise the great conqueror, the wide-ruling king, and also the man who had such large and irregular experience of the 'love of women.' But David with his blood-stained hands was not allowed

[1] The following is a list (taken chiefly from Jaffé) of the fictitious names of Charles and his courtiers and of other friends of Alcuin as far as they have been ascertained:—

Charles	David or Solomon.
Adalhard (abbot of Corbey, cousin of Charles the Great)	Antonius.
Alcuin	Flaccus.
Angilbert (abbot of S. Richer)	Homerus.
Arno (archbishop of Salzburg)	Aquila.
Audulf (?), (seneschal in the palace)	Menalcas.
Beornrad (archbishop of Sens)	Samuel.
Eanbald II (archbishop of York)	Simeon.
Einhard	Bezaleel.
Ethelbert or Adalbert (abbot of Ferrieres ?)	Magus Niger.
Ethelburga (abbess of Fladbury)	Eugenia.
Fredegisus (a deacon)	Nathanael.
Gisila (abbess of Chelles, sister of Charles the Great)	Lucia
Gundrada (sister of Adalhard, cousin of Charles the Great)	Eulalia.
Hrotrud (daughter of Charles the Great)	Columba.
Hygbald (bishop of Lindisfarne)	Speratus.
Maganfried (?), (chamberlain)	Thyrsis.
Richbod (archbishop of Trier)	Macharius.
Riculf (archbishop of Maintz)	Flavius Damoctus.
Witto (a disciple of Alcuin)	Candidus.

'to build the temple of the Lord, and therefore, as Charles did build the stately basilica of Aquae Grani, he was sometimes addressed by his friends under the name of Solomon.

Paulus Diaconus.

An honoured guest at the Frankish palaces before Charles took up his abode at Aachen was the Lombard historian who has been so often quoted in previous volumes, Paulus Diaconus. He came, probably in 782, when he was himself about fifty-seven years of age, to plead the cause of his brother Arichis, who had incurred the displeasure of the Frankish king. In an elegiac poem Paulus thus laid bare to Charles the misery that had fallen upon him and his family:—

'Hear, great king, my complaint and in mercy receive my petition;
Scarce in the whole round world will be found such a sorrow as mine.
Six long years have passed since my brother's doom overtook him,
Now 'tis the seventh that he, a captive, in exile must pine.
Lingers at home his wife, to roam through the streets of her city
Begging for morsels of food, knocking at door after door:
Only in shameful guise like this can she nourish the children,
Four little half-clothed babes, whom she in her wretchedness bore.
There is a sister of mine, a Christ-vowed virgin of sorrows:
Wellnigh with constant tears quenched is the light of her eyes.
Reft of its scanty equipment is now the home of our fathers;
Us in our utmost need no neighbour will help or advise.
Gone is the pride of our birth. Thrust forth from the acres paternal,
Now we are equalled in rank with those, the slaves of the soil.
Harsher doom we deserved: I own it. Yet, merciful monarch,
Pity the prayer of the sad. End our distress and our toil.
Give but the captive back to his fatherland and his homestead,
Give him the modest estate, his family's portion and stay:
So shall our mouths sing ever the praises of Christ the Redeemer,
Christ, who alone for your grace fitting rewards can repay.

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Taken literally this metrical petition would suggest the thought that Paulus had himself been concerned in hostile designs against the Frankish power. It is possible however, and is generally considered probable, that he here but speaks of 'us' and 'our deservings' in order more effectually to move the pity of the conqueror by associating himself with the guilt of the condemned man. Amid the many uncertainties which surround the life of the Lombard historian, one thing seems tolerably clear, that he had been for some years an inmate of Monte Cassino before he sought the court of King Charles to plead for his exiled brother[1].

[1] He may have first met with Charles during the Frankish king's visit to Rome (Easter, 781), and afterwards followed him across the Alps. The following is the chronology of the life of Paulus offered by Prof. Dahn (Paulus Diaconus, p. 74), who has enquired very carefully into the subject, but perhaps leans a little too much towards the negative side in some of his conclusions. He rejects the authority of 'Hilderick's' epitaph on Paulus which has hitherto been considered almost decisive:—

Birth of Paulus	About 725
Education at Pavia by Flavianus	„ 745
Visit to the court of Ratchis	„ 748
Literary intercourse with Arichis and Adelperga of Benevento	755–774
Captivity of Paulus' brother Arichis	After Easter, 776
Paulus' entry into Monte Cassino	775 or 776
Journey to the court of Charles	782
Stay in Frank-land	782–786
Return in Charles's train to Italy	December, 786
At Rome	January–February, 787
Visits Monte Cassino with Charles	March, 787
Begins the History of the Lombards at M. Cassino	790
Dies	about 795

(Should the education by Flavian and the visit to the palace of King Ratchis be deemed to have taken place while Paulus was still in his boyhood, his birth must be placed not earlier than 730.)

From the favour which was shown to Paulus during the four years of his stay at the Frankish court there can be no doubt that his petition on behalf of his brother was promptly granted. He seems to have generally followed the court in all its peaceful promenades, and it was probably in one of these progresses that he found himself at the Villa Theodonis [1], where, as the reader may remember, he was interested in measuring the length of his shadow on Christmas day [2]. Being himself a Greek scholar, he gave lessons in that language to the ecclesiastics who were chosen to accompany the little princess Hrotrud to Constantinople. He wrote the history of the bishops of Metz, duly glorifying Charles's sainted ancestor Arnulf. He also wrote epitaphs in respectable elegiacs on Charles's queen Hildegard, on two of his daughters and two of his sisters, and he was in fact during the four years of his stay in Frank-land a kind of literary prime minister of Charles the Great, entrusted by him with that work of revising the lectionaries and homilies of the Church to which allusion has already been made [3].

It was probably about the time of Paulus' arrival at the Frankish court that another literary man of some eminence made his appearance there. This was the aged Peter of Pisa, who many years before

Petrus Pisanus.

[1] Diedenhofen or Thionville.

[2] See vol. v. p. 77. I have purposely repeated some facts in the life of Paulus which have been already given in the memoir prefixed to Book vi. chap. 3. The original of the poem translated above will be found at pp. 74 and 75 of the sixth volume.

[3] 'Idque opus Paulo diacono, familiari clientulo nostro, elimandum injunximus' (Epist. Generalis, quoted by Simson, ii. 569, n. 4).

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had become famous by a disputation which he held at Pavia with a certain Jew named Lull, and who now was invited across the Alps to teach grammar to the young nobles of the court, the great king himself often forming one of his audience[1]. Between these two men, Paul the deacon and Peter the grammarian, there was an interchange of banter and half-ironical compliments, which seems to have amused their royal master as much as it perplexes the modern student, who after an interval of more than a thousand years strives to recover the meaning of these fossil *facetiae*.

Contest of wits between Peter and Paul.

Peter (who writes on behalf of Charles) in high-flown strains salutes Paul, 'most learned of poets, who rivals Homer among the Greeks, Virgil among the Latins, Philo in his knowledge of Hebrew, Horace in his use of metre, Tibullus in eloquence. . . . A glory which we hoped not for has now risen upon us. You have heard that at the bidding of Christ our daughter [Hrotrud] is about to cross the seas under the escort of Michael in order to wield the sceptre of the Eastern realm. For this cause you are teaching our clerics Greek grammar, that they may go thither, while still remaining in our obedience, and may seem to be learned in the rules of the Greeks.'

Paulus answers that he perceives that all this is said ironically, and that he is 'derided with praises and oppressed by laughter,' all which makes him very miserable. He has never thought of imitating any of those mighty ones who have trodden the trackless road to fame; rather is he like one of the little dogs

[1] Alcuini Ep. 112; Einhard, Vita Karoli, c. 25.

that have followed at their heels[1]. 'I do not know Greek,' he says with untruthful modesty, 'and I am ignorant of Hebrew. I have heard, and I exult in the news, that your fair daughter, O king, is to cross the seas and grasp the sceptre, so that through your child the power of your kingdom will spread over Asia. But if in that country your clerics who go from hence shall speak no more Greek than they have learned from me, they will be as dumb as statues and will be derided by all.'

Enigmas.

It was apparently the king's habit to send by an officer of his guard a riddle or a sort of acrostic charade to one or other of these two grammarians, and humorously press for an immediate answer. Each of these riddles, as far as we can understand them, seems to be vapidity itself[2], but they have been the means of procuring for us vivid pictures of the handsome soldier from the palace who brought at sunset to Paulus what he calls 'the fire-tipped arrows' of Charles, and of the youth with beautiful body, in whose beard the dew-drops were hanging, when he stood at daybreak charged with a like perplexing message at the door of Peter.

The reader finds it difficult to repress his impatience when he reads the records of these elaborate trivialities. Yet even the nonsense of the court seems to bring us nearer to the Frankish hero than the bare record of his campaigns or the disputed text of his donations to the Pope. And at least this is

[1] This or something like this must surely be the meaning of Paulus, though it is hard to get it out of the unaltered text.

[2] One is the word 'cave,' indicated by three words, 'caput, auris, venter,' and the letter E.

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the real Austrasian Charles with whom we are thus brought in contact, not the shadowy and unreal Charlemagne of romance.

Return of Paulus Diaconus to Italy.

About 786 Paulus seems to have returned to Italy, possibly in the train of Charles, who, as we have seen, spent Christmas of that year in Florence and the following winter at Rome. We hear very little about his old age, but there can be little doubt that he returned to Monte Cassino, for which retreat his heart yearned even in the midst of the splendours of Charles's court, and that he there in the end of his days composed his invaluable History of the Lombards, dying in one of the closing years of the eighth century [1].

[1] The Chronicon Salernitanum, which as we have seen is a poor authority dating from the end of the tenth century and stuffed full of legends and fables, gives a long account of the dismissal of Paulus Diaconus from the Frankish court (cap. ix). He is represented as having thrice plotted the death of Charles, 'for the faith which he bore to his old master Desiderius.' The first two offences are forgiven for the great love which Charles has towards him, but the third time he is brought into the king's presence and asked why he is thus conspiring against him. 'Do what you will,' says Paulus; 'I can only speak the truth. I was once faithful to King Desiderius, and that faith of mine remains for ever.' Charles gives orders that his hands shall be struck off, but is stopped by the thought 'When those hands are gone where shall we find as elegant a writer?' The courtiers, who hate Paulus for his loyalty to Desiderius, suggest that his eyes shall be put out, but Charles says, 'When we have blinded him, where shall we find another poet or historian as eminent as he is?' It is then decided that he shall be sent into exile in a certain island, where he remains a long time, being frequently tortured. A certain old servant of his, however, plans his escape, and brings him to Arichis of Benevento, who receives him with great joy, falls on his neck, and kisses him. He is introduced to Adelperga, and in words borrowed from Jacob's

The Northumbrian, Alcuin.

About the same time when Paulus first visited the Frankish court, another learned ecclesiastic, a countryman of our own, made his appearance there, a man destined to make a much longer stay and to exercise a more powerful influence than the Lombard historian. This was Alcuin, or (as he preferred to write his name) Albinus, a man already of much renown for his learning when in the year 781 he met King Charles at Parma and was persuaded by him to enter his service.

Alcuin was born probably about the year 735. He was sprung from a noble family in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, was of the same stock whence half a century earlier had sprung the sainted Willibrord, and if not actually born at York, was sent thither in very early childhood to be trained for the priesthood. The kingdom of Northumbria had not yet lost all its ancient glory, the glory of Edwin and Oswald; and York, the successor of the Roman Eburacum, was not only a great political centre, but was in fact the predecessor of the university towns of later ages. The venerable Baeda, the most learned man in Europe, was no more, having died perhaps in the very year of Alcuin's birth, but the tradition of his great attainments was kept alive by Egbert, who was archbishop of York from 732 to 766, and who took a keen interest in the education of the young Alcuin. Already when a boy of eleven years old, Alcuin had felt the exceptional charm which Virgil possessed for the

His love for Virgil.

salutation to Joseph (Gen. xlviii. 11), expresses his delight at seeing not only his old master's daughter but also her illustrious progeny.

All this history, as far it relates to Paulus' condemnation and banishment by Charles, is probably mere romance, without the slightest foundation in historical fact.

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students of Latin in the Middle Ages, and already, as with Jerome and Augustine, the influence of the great Mantuan was in some degree antagonistic to that of prophets and apostles. Though regular in his attendance at the morning service, he seldom visited the church after sunset. The rough and ignorant monk in whose cell he slept was equally lax in his midnight devotions. One night, says the biographer, when the porter at cockcrow called the brotherhood to rise for vigils, the monk, unaroused, continued in his snoring sleep, and the bright boy who shared his cell was also slumbering. Suddenly the cell was filled with black spirits, who surrounded the old monk's bed, saying, 'Thou sleepest soundly, O brother!' He awoke and heard their taunting cry, 'When all the brethren are keeping their vigil in the church, why art thou alone snoring here?' Thereat the spirits began to chastise him with cruel blows. The boy meantime was praying hard for deliverance: 'O Lord Jesus, if ever after this I neglect the vigils of the church and care more for Virgil than for the chanting of psalms, then may such stripes be my lot. Only I pray Thee deliver me now.' The spirits, when they had finished chastising the clown, cast their eyes round the cell. 'Who,' said the leader of the fiends, 'is this other, sleeping here in the cell?' They answered, 'It is the boy Albinus, hiding under the bed-clothes.' 'We will not chastise him with stripes because he is still raw, but we will punish him somewhat on the hard soles of his feet, and make him remember the vow which he has just made.' They pulled the clothes from his feet, but Alcuin made the sign of the cross and repeated fervently the 12th Psalm. Thereupon the spirits

disappeared, and the terrified monk and boy rushed into the church for shelter.

The story seems worth telling, however little belief we may have in the spiritual nature of the monk's tormentors, because it indicates the character of Alcuin's education, and his position midway between literature and theology. There can be no doubt—every letter from his pen proves it—that he was deeply imbued with the knowledge and the love of the great literature of heathen Rome. Yet he was also a loyal and devoted son of the Catholic Church, well acquainted with the Scriptures and with the works of the chief Latin fathers, and he devoted the best powers of his trained and cultivated intellect to the defence of Catholic doctrine against heretics. In this capacity he fought as chief champion of the Church against Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo, who taught that Jesus Christ might be properly described as the adopted Son of God. In this capacity also he was probably engaged in the composition of the Libri Carolini, the celebrated treatise in which Charles endeavoured to define the true Via Media as to the worship of images.

Alcuin's literary style.

The part which Alcuin played in these controversies is fully explained when we turn to his letters and poems and compare them with the letters and the biographies which proceeded from the Papal chancery. While Paul and Hadrian and their biographers express themselves in a Latin so barbarous, grotesque and ungrammatical that it would have seemed like a foreign language to Virgil or Seneca, the prose and poetry of Alcuin, and we may add of most of his companions in the literary *coterie* which gathered round the Frankish

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king, are grammatically correct and sometimes elegant. Doubtless there is in most of this Caroline literature a lack of freshness and spontaneity; the writers tend towards bombast and set too high a value on mere prettinesses of expression; in their poems especially, some of them borrow so extensively from the great Latin authors that they remind one of an idle school-boy trying to fill up his required number of lines by pilfered and unacknowledged quotations. Still, what these men wrote is Latin, if not always of the purest and noblest kind, and that is more than can be said of the letters in the Codex Carolinus and the lives in the Liber Pontificalis.

Alcuin's travels.

To return to the history of Alcuin. He was brought into close relations, as a pupil or friend, with three successive archbishops of York—Egbert, Aelberht, and Eanbald. While still a young man he seems to have accompanied the second of these on a journey to Italy, in the course of which he stayed at Pavia (then probably still the residence of a Lombard king), and there was present at the memorable disputation between Peter of Pisa and the Jew Lull, to which allusion has already been made. On Aelberht's elevation to the archbishopric (767), he succeeded him as head of the school attached to the church of York.

780. On the death of Aelberht, he was sent by his friend Eanbald, who was elected to the vacant archiepiscopal throne, to receive his *pallium* from Rome[1]. It was probably in the course of this journey that he met

[1] Eanbald succeeded to the see in 778 on the *resignation* of Aelberht, but Alcuin's journey to Rome for the *pallium* cannot have been undertaken till the winter of 780–1, after the *death* of Aelberht.

Charles at Parma and was earnestly entreated by him to take up his residence at the Frankish court. He refused, however, to do this without first obtaining the leave of his king and archbishop. That leave obtained, he repaired, about the beginning of 782, to Charles, then residing at Quierzy-sur-Oise, and at once received from him the gift of two rich abbacies [1].

Alcuin's residence at the Frankish court, 782-796.

With the exception of an interval of about two years spent in his native land [2], Alcuin remained till 796 at the court of his patron, organising the school for the court-pages, renaming the courtiers with names taken from the classical poets, probably advising as to the services of the royal chapel, always acting as the literary and sometimes as the ecclesiastical prime minister of the great king.

He retires to the monastery at Tours, 796-804.

In 796 he obtained permission to retire to the great monastery of St. Martin at Tours, of which he was made abbot, and there he spent the remaining eight years of his life, dying 'full of days' on the 19th of May, 804. For us this absence of Alcuin from the Frankish court is the most fruitful period of his life, because to it belong the bulk of the letters which he addressed to his royal patron, and from these we may infer what manner of counsels he gave while still dwelling under his roof.

I have been thus precise in stating the years of Alcuin's companionship and correspondence with Charles, since it is clear that he exercised a quite extraordinary influence on the mind of the Frankish hero, and to Alcuin's love of the Latin classics and close familiarity with their pages must in large measure

[1] Ferrières and St. Lupus at Troyes.

[2] Apparently between 790 and 792.

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be ascribed the specially Roman turn taken by Charles's policy in the great year 800.

Correspondence between Alcuin and Charles.

The correspondence between Alcuin and Charles gives us a pleasant impression of the characters of both men. The scholar does not fawn and the king does not too obviously condescend; and, most agreeable trait of all, there is an occasional exchange of banter between 'David' and 'Flaccus,' that being the Horatian name which was assumed by the British ecclesiastic. Thus, when Charles has asked Alcuin a question, not easy to answer, about the reason for the names given by the Church to the Sundays before Lent—Quinquagesima, Sexagesima, and Septuagesima; and when Alcuin has given an answer which is obviously an attempt to hide his ignorance under a cloud of words, Charles, after consulting some of the young clerks in the *Schola Palatii*, sends an explanation which is at any rate more intelligible, and probably nearer to the truth, than that given by Alcuin. But as Charles had apparently adopted the Alexandrian method of beginning the year from the autumnal equinox, Alcuin says, 'I left Roman lads in the palace-school: how have Egyptians crept in there?' And with jokes about Egyptian darkness and frequent hits at the too great cleverness of 'your Egyptian lads' he tries to cover his retreat, though he admits that 'I, the loiterer, I, forgetful of my former self, have perhaps rightly borne the scourge of your striplings.'

Statesmanlike policy recommended by Alcuin.

In serious matters the influence of Alcuin on the mind of the Frankish king seems to have been generally exerted in favour of a broad and tolerant policy. A favourable specimen of his style is furnished by a letter which he wrote soon after his retirement to Tours, in

the autumn of 796[1]. After congratulating the king on his victories over the Huns [Avars], 'a nation formidable by their ancient savagery and courage,' he goes on to recommend that to this new people there be sent pious preachers, men of honourable character, intent on following the example of the holy Apostles, who may feed them with milk, and not disgust their 'fragile minds' with 'more austere precepts.'

'After weighing these things, let your Piety, under wise advice, consider whether it is good to impose on a rude people like this at the beginning of their faith the yoke of tithes, exacted in full amount and from every house. It is to be considered whether the Apostles, who were taught by Christ Himself and sent forth by Him for the evangelisation of the world, ever ordered the exaction of tithes, or demanded that they should be given to them. We know that the tithing of our property is a very good thing; but it is better to forego it than to lose the faith. Even we, who were born, bred, and trained up in the Catholic faith, scarce consent to the full tithing of our substance; how much less will their tender faith, their childish intellects, and their covetous dispositions consent to such large claims on their generosity? But when their faith is strengthened and their Christian habits are confirmed, then, as to perfect men, may be given those stronger commands which, their minds braced by the Christian religion, will no longer reject with loathing.'

[1] Ep. 67. This letter is addressed 'Domino . . . Carolo, regi Germaniae Galliae atque Italiae.' We have thus here a king addressed as king of territories, not of peoples. The priority of Germany over Gaul is significant.

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Alcuin's friends.

Around Alcuin as a centre gathered a school of learned and nimble-minded men, his disciples, who helped forward the civilising and educating work of the king of the Franks. Two of these may be noticed here, Angilbert, abbot of S. Riquier, and Theodulf, bishop of Orleans.

Angilbert.

Angilbert was sprung from a noble Frankish family, and was brought up, almost from infancy, in the palace of Charles. His teachers were Alcuin, Peter of Pisa, and another grammarian named Paulinus [1]. He accompanied the young Pippin into Italy, and was apparently one of his chief counsellors [2], having probably then already taken orders [3]. He returned to the Frankish court, and in 790 was made by Charles abbot of the monastery of S. Riquier in Picardy [4]. It was probably about the same time that he was appointed archchaplain [5] to the king.

Angilbert was three times sent on important missions to Rome [6]. The object of his second mission was to obtain from the Pope that condemnation of the Second Nicene Council which Hadrian, being himself an ardent image-worshipper, could not grant. But though thus engaged in serious ecclesiastical affairs, Angilbert was essentially a *littérateur* and a man of the world. The abundance of his poems (only a few of which are preserved to us) obtained for him in the literary club at the palace the *sobriquet* of Homer. He became enamoured of Charles's daughter Bertha, and though

[1] It is doubtful whether Paulinus was a Frank or a Lombard. Charles promoted him to the see of Aquileia.

[2] 'Primicerius' (Ep. Alcuini, 5).

[3] As Alcuin addresses him as 'venerabilis' (Ibid.).

[4] At Centulum.

[5] 'Minister Capellae.'

[6] In 792, 794, and 796.

marriage was doubly impossible on account of his profession and her royal birth, she bore him two sons, to whom he seems to have been a loving father. Nor does Charles appear in any wise to have withdrawn his favour from his irregular son-in-law.

Alcuin's admonitions to Angilbert.

To Alcuin, who followed the fortunes of his pupil with anxious interest, Angilbert's intense fondness for the pleasures of the theatre caused some uneasiness. 'I fear,' he said, in writing to his friend Adalhard[1], 'that Homer will be made angry by the edict[2] forbidding spectacular entertainments and devilish figments. All which things the Holy Scriptures prohibit: insomuch that I find St. Augustine saying, "Little does the man know who introduces actors and mimics and dancers into his house, how great a crowd of unclean spirits follows them." But God forbid that the Devil should have power in a Christian home. I wrote to you about this before, desiring with all my heart the salvation of my dearest son, and wishing that you might accomplish that which was beyond my power.'

Writing again two years later to the same friend, Alcuin rejoices over Angilbert's reformation[3]. 'I was much pleased to read what you have written about the improved morals of my Homer. For although his character was always an honourable one, yet there is no one in the world who has not to "forget the things which are behind and to reach out to the things which are before" till he attains the crown of perfectness. Now one of "the things that are behind" for him related to the actors, from whose vanities I knew that no small peril impended over his soul, and this grieved me. Wherefore I wrote him something on this subject,

[1] Ep. 116, written in 799. [2] 'Cartam.' [3] Ep. 177.

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to prove the genuine sincerity of my love. And I was surprised that so intelligent a man did not himself perceive that he was doing blameworthy deeds and things which consisted not with his dignity.'

Angilbert's poems.

One or two of the extant poems of Angilbert give us some interesting glimpses of life at Charles's court. He seems to have been always specially devoted to his former pupil Pippin, and, on that prince's return from Italy in 796, he greeted him with a poem of effusive welcome [1]. He pictures the young Charles and Louis looking anxiously for their brother's arrival. The impatient Charles wonders if he is hindered by the badness of the roads. Louis, though he loves Pippin quite as dearly, is of more placid temperament (how like the future 'debonnair' Emperor!) and comforts his brother by the recital of a dream, in which Pippin stood by him and assured him that ere the moon was at her full he would be with them.

The return of Pippin.

Then Pippin arrives, and is greeted by father, stepmother, brothers, sisters and aunt (Gisila 'the bride of heaven') with various manifestations of joy. The poem ends with pious aspirations, unhappily not fulfilled, for the fraternal union and concord of the three brothers, Charles, Pippin and Louis.

Charles the Great and Pope Leo.

Another poem of more historical importance, which now bears the name of 'Carolus Magnus et Leo Papa,' is attributed, though with some hesitation, to Angilbert. It opens with high-flown praises of Charles's qualities (among which we note especially his easy, genial manners, his love of the study of grammar, and his oratorical fluency), and then, after a description of the rise of the new capital of Aquae Grani, the poet proceeds to depict

[1] Poetarum Latinorum Medii Aevi (in M. G. H.) i. 358.

with some fluency, though at portentous length, the events of a day's boar-hunting in a vast wooded chase between the city and the hills. Charles himself is called 'the Pharos of Europe.' His horse, with heavy gold trappings, delights to be bestridden by the greatest of kings. Charles's sons are described with a monotony of laudation which savours too much of 'fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum.' The dress of Queen Liutgarda and of Charles's six daughters[1] is minutely described, and if we could trust the poet's accuracy we should have here a valuable piece of evidence for the attire of Frankish dames of high station: but when we find that each of the ladies goes hunting with a gold coronet on her head, in which emeralds, or chrysolites, or jacinths are blazing, we are forced to suspect that the picture is conventional, and that each princess insisted on being described in the most gorgeous of her court costumes[2].

We may, however, accept from the poet his description of the flaxen, or yet paler than flaxen[3] hair of several of the young Frankish princesses. And we note with interest his elaborate portrait of the brilliant Bertha, surrounded by her girl-friends; Bertha, whose

[1] Hrotrud, Bertha, Gisila, (the younger) daughters of Hildegard; Rothaid, daughter of a concubine; Theoderada and Hiltrud, daughters of Fastrada.

[2] In contrast with the misplaced splendours of Angilbert's hunting-party, take the merry jest related by the Monk of St. Gall (ii. 17), how, to cure his courtiers of an inordinate love of finery, King Charles one day proclaimed a hunt when they were all dressed in their silks and ermines, how they left the tatters of their gorgeous robes hanging on every bush, and had their costly furs ruined by the rain, while Charles himself in his coarse close-fitting hunting-costume sustained no injury.

[3] He calls their tresses 'nivei.'

voice, whose manly courage, whose quick-glancing and expressive face recalled the image of her father. For this was that one of Charles's daughters who was one day to be the unwedded wife of the poet.

The banquet in the forest.

After the boar-hunt the tents were pitched in the middle of the forest, and a splendid banquet followed, which was attended not only by the young sportsmen who had followed Charles, but by the grave and reverend seniors invited thither from the city.

The poet then proceeds to relate the interview between the King and Pope which will be the subject of the next chapter.

One word deserves our especial attention in this poem. It was composed probably in the year 799, certainly not later than June, 800, for it speaks of Queen Liutgard as still living: yet twice [1] Charles is spoken of as 'Augustus,' the name appropriated beyond all others to the Emperor of Rome. Certainly Angilbert had heard some whispers of the event which was to make the Christmas of 800 memorable.

Theodulf, bishop of Orleans.

Theodulf, the other great poet of Charles's court, the most copious of all save Alcuin, was born about 760 in the old Gothic province of Septimania [2], which since the middle of the century had formed part of the Frankish kingdom. After taking deacon's orders he seems to have made his way to Charles's court, where his learning and his zeal for reform of manners in Church and State obtained for him a high position. It is thought, however, that he never sat as a pupil in

[1] Lines 94 and 332.

[2] This is proved by lines 137–140 of the Versus ad Judices, which make it probable that Narbonne was his birth-place. Note the curious use of Hesperia in that passage.

the *Schola Palati*, nor formed one of the innermost circle of the friends of Alcuin, and consequently he has no Latin nickname like the members of that *coterie*. About the year 798 he was consecrated bishop of Orleans, with the right of holding three or four rich abbacies along with his see. In this year he was also sent together with Leidrad (afterwards bishop of Lyons) as *missus dominicus* to hold synods, reform manners, and execute justice in the region of *Gallia Narbonensis*. Of this journey he has given us a valuable account in his longest and most important poem addressed 'Ad Judices.' In 801 and 802 he had a sharp dispute about right of sanctuary with Alcuin, who had then recently retired from the headship of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours. A certain accused person had fled from Theodulf's jurisdiction and taken refuge at St. Martin's shrine. Theodulf demanded, Alcuin passionately refused, the surrender of the criminal. Our countryman was probably in the wrong, since Charles, intervening in the dispute, gave judgment in Theodulf's favour, and strongly condemned the angry tone of Alcuin's letters.

After Charles's death Theodulf was for some time in high favour with his successor, Louis the Pious, to whom he addressed a poem of welcome on his passage through Orleans to Aachen. He was accused, however, of taking part in Bernard's rebellion against his uncle Louis, and was banished to Angers. It is not quite clear whether he was ever pardoned. According to one, somewhat late, authority[1], he received permission to return, but was poisoned on the road home (821).

[1] Letaldi, Miracula S. Maximini, cap. 3 (quoted by Editor of Theodulf's Carmina, M. G. H. p. 439).

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Theodulf's poetry.

The style of Theodulf's Latin poems is considered by some critics [1] to be superior to that of any of his contemporaries. To me he seems often intolerably diffuse, and I find it difficult to admire the poetical taste of a man who could spend weeks (as he must have done, if not months) in composing thirty-five vapid (necessarily vapid) verses of 'prayer for King Charles,' which when read perpendicularly, horizontally, and along the lines of an inscribed rhomboid, give eight other acrostic verses to the same purport [2]. Still his Latin is generally correct, and when he is clear of literary artifices like this and free from the enervating influences of the court, it is sometimes even forcible. His poems, with fewer plagiarisms than those of Angilbert, show an extensive acquaintance with the works of the Latin classical poets, especially with those of Ovid, whose fate as an exile vainly pleading for the return of court favour, that of Theodulf was, at the end of his life, so closely to resemble. It would be an interesting question to enquire where, at a distance from Charles's court, the 'Goth' (as he always styles himself) of Narbonne can have accumulated so large a store of classical learning. May we believe that, first under Visigothic and then under Saracen rule, the old *Provincia* which included Narbonne and Marseilles had retained sufficient trace of its old Latin culture to prevent it from being barbarised down to the level of Gregory of Tours?

Versus Ad Judices.

The longest and best of Theodulf's poems is an address to all Judges, warning them against bribery, partiality, indolence and pride. As has been said, it

[1] Histoire Littéraire de la France, iv. 461 (quoted in M. G. H. p. 440).

[2] Poem xxiii in M. G. H.

contains, parenthetically, a long account of the author's journey to the Narbonese Gaul, with Leidrad for his colleague. He says, 'I have often perceived that when I inveigh against the bribery of judges the secret thought of my hearers is that I, if I had the opportunity, should do even as they.' It is in order to repel this insinuation that he tells the story of his journey down the valley of the Rhone to those 'Hesperian' lands round Narbonne which gave him birth. At every place he was beset by corrupt aspirants to his favour. One man offered a silver vase on which were carved with marvellous skill some of the labours of Hercules. This vase should be Theodulf's if he would only consent to annul the deed of enfranchisement by which the petitioner's parents had given freedom to a multitude of slaves. Another, who had a dispute about the ownership of some cattle, offered as a suitable bribe a robe woven in Saracenic looms, in which a cow with her calf was depicted with marvellous skill. And so on with many other gifts, costly if offered by the rich, of trifling value if offered by the poor, but all distinctly put forward as bribes, and as such rejected by Theodulf. He truly remarks that these things would not have been offered to him unless similar gifts had been accepted by many of his predecessors. It was probably the unfavourable impression which he thus received of the venality of Frankish judges which caused him to write these words of solemn warning against a wide-spread vice[1].

[1] The whole of this interesting description of Theodulf's journey to Gallia Narbonensis is translated by Guizot in his twenty-third Lecture on the History of Civilisation in France. He truly remarks that it proves that the invasions of the barbarians had

Interwoven with the practical advice which Theodulf gives to the judges we find some interesting pictures of the forensic life of a Frankish city: 'When the dull murmur of the law-suits calls you to the Forum and you have to execute the duties of your office, first resort to some holy place and pray God to direct your actions that you may do nothing displeasing to Him. Then, according to custom, repair to the gates of the resounding Forum, where the band of litigants expects you. When you are on your way, perhaps some poor man will address to you words of entreaty, some man who may afterwards say that he could not have speech of you while you walked surrounded by your people. You go forward, you are received within those proud doors, while the common people are shut out. But let some faithful and compassionate servant walk near to you, to whom you can say, "Bring into our presence that man who uttered his complaint in such a loud voice": and so having introduced him into the judgment-hall, discuss his cause first, and afterwards attend to every one in his own order.

'If you ask my advice when you should go to the Forum, I should say "Go early," and do not grudge spending the whole day on the judgment-seat. The more a man ploughs, the better harvest he will reap. I have seen judges who were slow to attend to the duties of their office, though prompt enough in taking its rewards. Some arrive at eleven and depart at three. Others, if nine o'clock sees them on the bench, will rise therefrom at noon. Yes, if they have

not destroyed all the wealth nor all the works of art in Southern France.

anything to give, you will not find them till three in the afternoon; if anything to receive, they are there before seven. The man who was formerly always late, is now brisk enough in his movements.

'Gluttony is always to be avoided, but especially at the time when the duty awaits you of handling the reins of justice. He who devotes himself to feasting and slumber, comes with dulled senses to the trial of causes, and sits in his court flabby, inactive, mindless. Some difficult case comes on, the rapid play of question and answer demands his keenest attention, but there he sits and sways to and fro, lazy, panting, overcome with nausea and pain, in crass hebetitude. Beware therefore of too abundant banquets, and especially of the goblets of Bacchus. If you are a drunkard you will be laughed at in stealth by all your people. One passes on the hint to another, and soon the brand of infamy will be fixed upon you.

'The janitor of the court must control the gaping crowd, and not suffer the lawless mob to rush into the hall and fill the building with their noisy complaints, of which, the louder they shout, the less one can understand. But he too must be a man of clean hands, and must be expressly admonished not to take any *douceurs* from the people. Alas! this is a vice which every janitor loves. The janitor loves a bribe, and among his masters the judges you will scarce find one in a thousand who hates it[1].'

Before we part from the works of this keen-witted, if not grandly inspired poet, we must listen for a short time to his description of the court of King Charles

[1] Ad Judices, 357–434 (much condensed).

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Ad Carolum Regem.

at Aachen, as contained in his poem 'Ad Carolum regem,' written about the year 796[1].

After listening to prayers in 'that hall whose fair fabric rises with marvellous domes' (doubtless the great church of St. Mary), the king proceeds to the palace. The common people go and come through the long vestibules; the doors are opened, and of the many who wish to enter a few are admitted. One sees the fair progeny of Charles surrounding their father, Charles the younger in his adolescent beauty and the boyish Louis[2], both strong, vigorous, with minds keen in study, and able to keep their own counsel. Then the virgin band, Bertha, Hrotrud and Gisila, and their three younger sisters; no one more beautiful than the others. With these is joined the fair Amazon[3], Liutgarda, 'who shines both by her intellect and her wealth of piety, fair indeed by her outward adornment, but fairer yet by her worthy deeds, beloved both by nobles and people; free-handed, gentle, courteous; she seeks to benefit all, to injure none.' (One may be allowed here to suspect a veiled allusion to the opposite character of her predecessor, Fastrada.)

The children crowd around their father in friendly rivalry of good offices. Charles takes from him his heavy double *pallium* and his gloves, Louis takes his sword. The daughters receive the loving kisses of their sire. Bertha brings roses, Hrotrud violets, Gisila lilies, Rothaid apples, Hiltrud bread, Theoderada wine.

[1] The date is approximately fixed by the congratulations on the subjugation of the Avars, and by the fact that Pippin and Angilbert were both absent from the court.

[2] Called by Theodolf, Hludowic and Ludoich.

[3] 'Pulchra virago.'

All these maidens wear beautiful jewels, some red, some green; golden clasps, bracelets and necklaces. One delights her father by her graceful dance, another by her merry jokes [1].

Then draws near the king's sister, the holy Gisila, She kisses her brother, and her placid face shows as much joy as can co-exist with her joy in the heavenly Bridegroom. She begs Charles to explain to her some dark passage of Scripture, and he teaches her that which he has himself learned of God.

A description of the courtiers follows. *Thyrsis* (whose Teutonic name we know not) is the active and able but bald chamberlain whose business it is to regulate the entrance into the presence-chamber, admitting some and courteously excusing himself for preventing the entrance of others.

Flaccus (Alcuin) is 'the glory of our bards, mighty to shout forth his songs, keeping time with his lyric foot, moreover a powerful sophist, able to prove pious doctrines out of Holy Scripture, and in genial jest to propose or solve puzzles of arithmetic.' Sometimes these questions of Flaccus are easy, sometimes desperately hard. Charles himself is often one of those who rather desire to find than succeed in finding the answers to these 'Flaccidica.'

Richulf (bishop of Mainz) comes next, strong of voice, yet with polished speech, noble by his art and his fidelity. If he has tarried long in distant regions he has returned thence not empty-handed.

Homer (Angilbert) is absent; else my Muse should sing to him a song of delight.

Ercambald (chancellor from 797 to 812) has two

[1] 'Ista patrem gressu mulceat, illa joco.'

tablets in his hand, on which he writes down the king's orders and hums them over to himself with inaudible voice [1].

Lentulus (whose real name we know not) brings in some apples in a basket. He is a faithful fellow with quick perceptions, but very slow in speech and gait.

Nardulus (the name is perhaps meant for Einhard) rushes about hither and thither like an ant. His little body is inhabited by a mighty spirit. He is now bringing in big books and now literary arrows to slay the Scot.

At the mention of this Scot—to whose identity we have unfortunately no clue—Theodulf bursts into a storm of fury; fury surely fictitious and merely humorous. 'Such kisses will I give thee as the wolf gives to the donkey. Sooner shall the dog cherish hares or the fierce wolf lambs than I, the Goth, will have any friendship with the Scotsman. Take away one little letter, the third in the alphabet, a letter which he cannot himself pronounce, and you have the true description of his character, a sot instead of a Scot [2].'

After the banquet the Theodulfica Musa is called upon to sing. All kings and chieftains love to hear her voice, but a certain Wibod (possibly a count of Perigueux, another enemy or pretended enemy of Theodulf) cannot abide it. He shakes his thick head of hair thrice or four times at the minstrel, and in his absence hurls out dreadful threats. But only let the

[1] A conjectural translation of

'Verbaque suscipiat, quae sine voce canat.'

[2] Charles the Bald's celebrated question, therefore, to Erigena, 'Quid distat inter Scottum et Sottum?' besides being rude, was not even original.

king summon him to his presence, and in he goes with shambling gait and trembling knee; a very Jove with his awful voice, but a Vulcan with his lame foot.

So, with a torrent of pretended indignation against this Wibod and the mysterious Scot the poem concludes, the pious author praying his readers in the name of that Christian charity which beareth all things not to be offended by anything that he has written.

Literary atmosphere of Charles's Court.

I trust that I have not dwelt too long on the histories of these *littérateurs* in Charles's court. In reading their lives and their poems—small as the literary merit of these latter may be—one feels how broad a chasm divides them from the illiteracy and barbarism of the Merovingian days. True, the intellectual impulse came from abroad, and pre-eminently from our own great Northumbrian scholars. But it was Charles's supreme merit to have attracted it to himself, to have made his court the focus of all the literary light and heat of Western Europe, to have offered the richest prizes in Church and State as the rewards of intellectual eminence. As has been before said, the age of Charles the Great was a veritable literary and architectural Renascence, and even the mimic combats of the wits of the court, their verbal subtleties and classical affectations, remind us not seldom of the literary *coteries* of Florence in the age of the Medici. Like that brilliant age, moreover, was the age of Charlemagne in its care for the manuscripts of classical antiquity, only that where the Florentine bought, the Frank superintended the copying of the priceless manuscripts. The very characters bore the impress of the new movement of literary reform. Small but clear uncials took the place of the barbarous scrawl

of the two preceding centuries. Monastery vied with monastery in the splendour and the number of its parchment codices. For the fragments of Greek literature which have been preserved we are of course chiefly indebted to Constantinople, but it is difficult to calculate how great would be the void in extant Latin literature had it not been for the revival of letters at the court of Charlemagne.

CHAPTER V.

POPE AND EMPEROR.

Sources :—

The FRANKISH ANNALISTS and the LIBER PONTIFICALIS are still practically our only sources.

Guides :—

It would be a hopeless task to attempt to enumerate the authors who have written well and helpfully on the subject of the following chapter. I will content myself with mentioning four:—*Waitz*, Verfassungs-Geschichte (vol. iii. chapter 2, 'Die Aufrichtung des Kaiserthums,' and chapter 3, 'Königthum und Kaiserthum in Verbindung'); *Dahn*, 'Urgeschichte der Germanischen und Romanischen Völker' (iii. 1071–1084), and 'Deutsche Geschichte' (ii. 354–372); *Von Döllinger*, 'Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger' (Akademische Vorträge, iii. 98–174); and, pre-eminently, *Bryce*, 'Holy Roman Empire.' A careful study of the authorities relating to the great event of 800 only increases the marvel that a young Oxford student writing a Prize Essay nearly forty years ago should have obtained such a wide and comprehensive view of his subject, and have left so little to be said by those who come after him.

To a student of the life of Charles the Great the question will sometimes suggest itself whether his connection with the affairs of Italy and the Church of Rome brought him more of gladness or of vexation. Often when his head was already weary and his

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hands over-full with the care of his long wars against the heathen, there would come some message from over the Alps which seemed to cause his cup of bitterness to overflow. Even such a message came to him in the spring of 799; a rumour of terrible deeds done in Rome, which was followed in July by the actual appearance in his camp at Paderborn of a ghastly figure, the successor of St. Peter, the most venerated person in Western Europe, with bloodshot eyes, with pallid face, with mutilated tongue which could scarce speak the customary words of blessing. What barbarous hands had inflicted such cruel wounds on the holy Pope of Rome? Not the hands of 'unspeakable Lombards,' nor even of tyrannous Byzantine officials, but the hands of his own Romans, of ministers of his Church, brought up in the shadow of the Lateran. To understand what had happened we must go back rather more than three years to the day after the death of Hadrian.

Elevation of Leo III, Dec. 27, 795.

Leo III, who on the 27th of December, 795—only two days after the decease of his predecessor—was raised to the vacant throne, was by birth a Roman[1]. His education had been purely ecclesiastical, and through the incense-smoke of the conventional praises of the biographer we may perhaps discern that he was an eloquent man, and eminent as an alms-giver, both from his own funds and from those supplied to him by admiring members of his congregation. He had passed through the grades of deacon and presbyter, and was officiating as *vestararius* when the unanimous

[1] His father was called Atzuppius, a strange form of name, which seems to suggest Sclavonic or even Saracen descent. His mother's name was Elizabeth.

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choice—so it is affirmed—of the nobles, clergy and people of Rome raised him to the pontificate.

One of the earliest cares of the new Pope was to write to the Frankish king assuring him of his humble obedience and promising fidelity to his person[1]. Charles replied in a letter brought by the 'Homeric' Angilbert, in which he condoled with the Roman Church on the death of his 'sweetest father' Hadrian, mentioned the fact that he had intended to send some presents (part of the Avar spoil), which, since too late for Hadrian, were now offered for the acceptance of Leo, and desired the new Pope to confer with Angilbert 'on all matters which might seem necessary for the exaltation of the holy Church of God, the stability of your honour, and the consolidation of our patriciate.'

Charles's letter to the new Pope.

Both to Angilbert and to Leo himself Charles speaks of the necessity that the Pope should obey the canons and show purity in morals, firmness in faith, and honesty in his conversation. Viewed in the light of subsequent events, this anxious care for the Papal morality suggests the thought that Charles or one of his advisers, possibly Alcuin, had heard unfavourable reports as to the stability of character of the eloquent and popular *vestararius*.

Relative duties of King and Pope.

One paragraph in this letter is so important as describing the relation—in itself so hard to define—between Pope and Frankish King, that it will be well to translate it literally: 'For as I made a covenant of holy compaternity with your most blessed predecessor, so I desire to conclude an inviolable treaty of the same

[1] 'Valde, ut fatur,' says Charles in his reply, 'gavisi sumus seu in electionis unanimitate, seu in humilitatis vestrae obedientiâ et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate' (Epist. Carolin. 10, apud Jaffé).

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faith and love with your Blessedness, that by your prayers drawing down upon me the grace of God, I may be everywhere followed by the apostolic benediction, and the most holy seat of the Roman Church may be always protected by our devotion. It is our duty, with the help of God, everywhere externally to defend the Church of Christ with our arms from the inroads of pagans and the devastation of infidels, and internally to fortify it by our recognition of the Catholic faith. It is yours, most holy Father, with hands like the hands of Moses raised in prayer to God, to help our warfare, so that by your intercession, by the gift and guidance of God, the Christian people may everywhere and always win the victory over the enemies of His holy name, and the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be magnified in all the world.'

The Pope sends to Charles the keys of the apostolic crypt and the banner of Rome.

This conception (which was also the Roman conception) of the duties of the Frankish monarch towards the Church was aptly symbolised by the presents sent him by Leo in announcing his own elevation to the pontificate. They were, the keys of the *confessio* or crypt in which reposed the body of the Apostle Peter, and the banner of the City of Rome. So thoroughly united were now the two ideas of the Galilean fisherman and of the City founded by Romulus. Probably, even to themselves, Hadrian and Leo would have found it hard to explain how much they claimed on behalf of the one and how much on behalf of the other.

Mosaic at the Lateran.

At this day the pilgrim who visits the Eternal City may see the graphic embodiment of these ideas in a mosaic the original of which was perhaps affixed to the walls of the Lateran in the very year of Leo III's

accession. On an eighteenth-century building adjoining the Lateran church may be seen portrayed, on a brilliant gold background, the gigantic figure of St. Peter, who dispenses gifts to a suppliant on either side of him, men of smaller stature, as is befitting for contemporaries when brought into the presence of the saints of old. On his right hand kneels Pope Leo, to whom he is giving the *pallium* of hierarchical pre-eminence; on his left, King Charles, wearing a moustache, and with a curious conical cap on his head, to whom he gives the consecrated banner. In the barbarous misspelled Latin of the time the Apostle is implored to give life to the pious pontiff Leo, and victory to King Charles[1].

Unpopularity of Pope Leo III in Rome.

For certain reasons which are not very clear to us, the position of the new Pope was a precarious one. Throughout his long papacy he seems always to have been hated by a party among the Roman nobles[2].

[1] 'Beate Petre dona bitam [vitam] Leoni P. P. et bictoriam (victoriam) Carulo regi dona.' The present mosaic was executed from a coloured drawing in the Vatican library about 1743, the original having perished in the attempt to remove it from the walls of the Triclinium. Over against this group in the original building was a group of the Saviour enthroned between two kneeling figures giving three keys to St. Peter and a banner to Constantine. Hemans ('Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art,' p. 438) argues from the square nimbus round the Emperor's head that he must be meant for Constantine, son of Irene, not for the first Christian Emperor, but it seems very improbable that this Constantine could be thus put almost on an equality with St. Peter. See frontispiece to this volume.

[2] Simson (ii. 166 and 315) points out that again in 804 Leo was glad to find a pretext for quitting Rome, as though his life was in danger there, and that in 815, after Charles's death, there was actually another formidable conspiracy of Roman nobles against him (cf. Annales Einhardi, s. a. 804 and 815).

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Possibly there was something in his moral character which gave an easy handle to slander—it is not denied that his enemies accused him of adultery and perjury—but again it may be fairly argued that the scoundrels who mutilated his body would not hesitate, if the occasion offered, to murder his good name. Certain it is that the most conspicuous of his assailants were two men, nephews of the deceased Pope Hadrian, one *nomenclator* and the other *sacellarius* in the Papal court, Paschalis and Campulus.

The conspirators Paschalis and Campulus.

Let us look for a moment at the previous career of these two Papal nephews. In a letter of Hadrian to Charles written in May, 778[1], we find that 'our nephew Paschalis' is sent by the Pope to recall the citizens of Terracina to their obedience. In two letters written a little later, Campulus, bishop of Gaeta, appears as the informer concerning the machinations of the Greeks and Beneventans. The name being not a very common one, it seems probable that this was the same person as Hadrian's nephew. Thus we have two men whose detestable deeds committed against the venerated person of the Pope are about to be related, high in office in the Roman Church and *curia*, and evidently placed there by the favour of their uncle. Hadrian's own character must suffer somewhat for the ill deeds of his kinsmen. Either he was himself unscrupulous in the promotion of his relatives, or he was grievously deficient in discernment of character.

Procession of the Greater Litany, April 25, 799.

On the 25th of April, 799, the Pope prepared to ride along the street which is now called the Corso and forth along the Via Flaminia, in order to celebrate

[1] Codex Carolinus, Ep. 62.

the Greater Litany. This ceremony had taken the place of the old Pagan Robigalia, and, like that festival, was intended to implore the Divine Providence to avert rust and mildew from the springing corn[1]. As the Pope set forth from the Lateran palace, the *primicerius* Paschalis met him, and with hypocritical courtesy apologised for not being robed in his chasuble. 'I am in weak health,' said he, 'and therefore have come without my *planeta*.' Doubtless the fact was that the heavy chasuble would have hindered the bloody deed upon which his soul was set. The Pope gave him his pardon, and the two conspirators, as if in lowly attendance upon him, and with words of treacherous sweetness on their lips, followed in his train.

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Savage attack on the Pope.

The procession was meant to go forth by the Porta del Popolo, cross over the Ponte Molle, and wind round under Monte Mario to St. Peter's. The chief rendezvous for the citizens was the church of St. Lawrence in Lucina[2]. At the neighbouring monastery of St. Stephen and St. Silvester[3] the main body of the conspirators was assembled. They rushed forth and clustered round their two leaders. The people who had assembled to view the procession,

[1] In Ovid's Fasti, iv. 901–942, we have an interesting description of these Robigalia, of the priest's prayer to Rubigo (Rust) to spare the green corn, and in its stead to attack swords and javelins, useless now because Augustus reigns. I follow Duchesne in connecting the Litania Major with the Robigalia, though I do not understand why it is impossible to identify it with the Litania Septiformis of Gregory the Great (see vol. v. p. 299).

[2] A little west of the Corso, about 100 yards north of the Piazza Colonna.

[3] Now the church of S. Silvestro on the east of the Corso.

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unarmed and prepared only for a religious rite, dispersed in panic terror. Leo was thrown violently to the ground; Paschalis stood at his head and Campulus at his feet; some of the ruffians in the crowd tried to cut out his tongue, others struck him in the eyes, and then they dispersed, leaving the Supreme Pontiff of Rome blinded and speechless in the middle of the Corso[1].

There was evidently a great lack of plan and purpose in the truculent villains who did this cruel deed, and there is also a disposition on the part of the Papal biographer to exaggerate the injuries inflicted on the unhappy pontiff in order to magnify the miracle of his recovery. According to this authority, the impious men, 'like veritable Pagans,' returned to their victim, and finding him still alive, dragged him to the 'confessio' of the monastery of Stephen and Silvester, and there 'again twice more thoroughly pulled out his eyes and tongue, and striking him with divers blows and clubs, mangled him and left him only half alive, rolling in his blood before the very altar[2].'

It is not easy to recover the exact details of this

[1] In Angilbert's poem 'Ad Carolum Regem et Leonem Papam,' already quoted, Charles is represented as seeing the Pope in a dream with his ghastly mutilations, and sending messengers to Rome to enquire of his welfare. This however is probably a 'Homeric' fancy. Angilbert also makes the attack more the result of a sudden outburst of popular fury and less of a deliberate conspiracy than the above description, in which I have followed closely the Liber Pontificalis.

[2] 'Iterum eum bis oculos et linguam amplius crudeliter eruerunt et plagis eum diversis et fustibus caedentes laniaverunt et semivivum in sanguine revolutum ante ipsum altare dimiserunt' (Lib. Pontificalis, ii. 5). Döllinger (Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen, p. 332, ed. 1865) rejects this second mutilation as fabulous.

atrocity, but on the whole it seems safe to accept the cautious statement of some of the Frankish annalists[1], that the conspirators amputated the tongue of their victim and endeavoured to blind him, but did not entirely succeed in the latter operation.

The Pope is imprisoned but escapes.

The Pope was at first confined in the monastery of the two saints, Stephen and Silvester, but fearing a rescue his captors conveyed him by night to the monastery of St. Erasmus on the Coelian, a Greek foundation, whose abbot, or (as he was styled) *hegumenos*, appears to have been in league with the malefactors[2]. While he was imprisoned here, a miracle, according to the biographer, was wrought by the intercession of St. Peter, and he 'both recovered his sight, and his tongue was restored to him for speaking.' Moreover, there was still some loyalty left in the servants of the Lateran Court. The chamberlain[3] Albinus, taking counsel with some faithful friends, planned successfully his master's escape from the Greek convent. He was let down the wall by a rope in the night-time, and being received by his friends at the bottom was conveyed by them to St. Peter's. The people, in whose hearts there was doubtless a reaction

[1] Annales Laurissenses say, 'captum excaecaverunt ac linguâ detruncaverunt.' Ann. Einhardi, more cautiously, 'erutis oculis *ut aliquibus visum est*, linguâ quoque amputatâ.' Ann. Laureshamense, 'et absciderunt linguam ejus et *voluerunt eruere* oculos ejus et eum morti tradere.' So too Chronicon Moissiacense. Ann. Lauriss. Minores, 'oculos eruere moliuntur, linguam abscidunt.' In all these the mutilation of the tongue is spoken of more confidently than the injury to the eyes. The whole matter is very carefully discussed by Simson, ii. 583–7.

[2] A certain Maurus (perhaps bishop) of Nepi was also art and part in the conspiracy.

[3] 'Cubicularius.'

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of pity towards the victim of such a barbarous outrage, gathered round him, and in the familiar words of the Psalter praised 'the Lord God of Israel who alone doeth marvellous things, the Lord who is the light and salvation of His people,' for the deliverance granted to His servant. The conspirators, who felt themselves baffled, were wellnigh ready to turn their arms against one another in their rage and terror, but in fact accomplished nothing but the ignoble revenge of sacking the house of the faithful Albinus.

The Pope is delivered by Winichis, duke of Spoleto.

Still Leo's position in the great but unfortified basilica of St. Peter was by no means free from danger. It happened however that Winichis, the brave general who defeated the Greeks in 788, and who had since been made duke of Spoleto in succession to Hildeprand, was now at St. Peter's in the capacity of *missus* from King Charles[1]. He had a band of soldiers with him, and marching at their head he escorted Leo to the safe shelter of the Umbrian stronghold, Spoleto. From thence in the early summer he set forth upon his journey to the Frankish court, accompanied, says the biographer, by delegates —bishops, nobles of Rome and provincial nobles— from all the chief cities of Italy. After meeting first Charles's arch-chaplain Hildebald and then his son Pippin, who were sent to welcome him on to Frankish soil, he arrived, as we have seen, at Charles's camp of Paderborn about the month of July[2]. He was

Leo takes refuge at the court of Charles.

[1] Along with the Abbot Wirund (Annales Laurissenses, s. a. 799).

[2] The long and flowery description of the meeting of Pope and King given by Angilbert in the poem above quoted (Karolus Magnus et Leo Papa, 426–536) is too full of conventional phrases borrowed from the classical poets to be of much value for history.

received by the king with all the usual demonstrations of reverent welcome, and he with his large train of attendants had another camp pitched for them near the royal tents. Apparently Charles reserved judgment on the charges brought against Leo (for his opponents also found their way to the camp and persisted in their accusations) until the matter should have been thoroughly sifted by a commission sent for that purpose to Rome. But in the meantime king and courtiers listened to the marvellous story of the miraculous restoration of sight to the ruined eyes and the power of speech to the mutilated tongue, and the Pope's ministrations were invoked for the consecration of the new church which Charles had erected at Paderborn; an evident proof that Leo was still in the eyes of his powerful protector the lawful pontiff. In the act of consecration the Pope deposited in the altar of the church some relics of the protomartyr Stephen which he had brought with him from Rome, assuring the king that their mysterious efficacy would protect the church from a repetition of the destruction which it had before frequently undergone at the hands of the heathen[1].

Connection of Leo III's visit with the revival of the Imperial idea.

Were the summer months of 799 during which Leo abode at the court of Charles occupied by a negotiation between the two heads of Christendom, the result of which was that Leo was restored to the pontificate on condition of raising Charles to the Imperial throne? That is an assertion which has been sometimes made, but it rests on mere conjecture; there is not a shred of

[1] Translatio S. Liberii (quoted by Simson, ii. 183). The church, though unharmed thenceforward by the Saxons, was destroyed by fire in the year 1000.

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contemporary evidence in support of it; and, at any rate in the crude form in which I have here stated it, the assertion lacks probability.

At the same time we may well believe that Leo during these months of his abode at Paderborn perceived, what may have been hidden from him before, that the learned men and the churchmen at Charles's court, with their heads full of the literature and the memories of ancient Rome, true men of the Renaissance as they were, had conceived the idea of reviving the old and genuine dignity of *Roman* Imperator—something distinct from the spurious imitation of it which passed current at Constantinople—on behalf of their mighty Frankish lord. Four of the capital cities of the old Empire, Milan, Trier, Ravenna, Rome, already recognised Charles as their master, while two only, Constantinople and Nicomedia, remained to the 'Greek' Emperors. The extent of old Imperial territory which owned the sway of the Frank was enormously larger than the dwindled heritage of the East over which Irene ruled, and there were great and fair territories in central Europe which Varus and Drusus had failed to conquer, but which Charles, 'the enlarger of the Empire[1],' had won for civilisation. All these arguments were doubtless often urged in the halls of Aachen and by the camp-fires of Paderborn; and Charles probably listened to them, pleased but not convinced by his courtiers' zeal for his exaltation.

Alcuin on 'the Imperial dignity.'

We have seen that Angilbert had already used the epithet 'Augustus' of his royal master; but it is in

[1] The imperfect philology of that age was fond of deriving Augustus from *augeo*, to increase.

Alcuin's correspondence that the word *Empire* first clearly emerges. He had received a somewhat languid invitation from Charles to repair to the court and meet the apostolic exile. But, happily for us, the invitation did not appear to him to be a sufficiently direct command to make it necessary for him in his feeble state of health to undertake the journey from Tours into the troublous regions of Saxon-land[1]. To this feeling of slightly offended dignity we probably owe the fact that at this critical period of Charles's career we are able to trace in Alcuin's correspondence the advice given to the king by his chief counsellors.

799.

In one very important letter[2] written by 'Flaccus Albinus' to 'the peaceful king David' immediately after the receipt of the tidings of the outrage in the streets of Rome, Alcuin says:—

Pope.

'Hitherto there have been three persons in the world higher than all others. One is the Apostolic Sublimity which is accustomed to rule by delegated power the seat of St. Peter, Prince of Apostles. But what deeds have been done to him who was ruler of that see your worshipful Goodness has deigned to inform me.

Emperor.

'The next is the Imperial Dignity and secular power of the Second Rome. How impiously the Governor of that Empire has been deposed, not by strangers,

[1] 'Sed ut video, meis hoc inpedientibus peccatis, fieri necdum poterit propter fragilitatem corpusculi, multis molestiarum sarcinulis subgravati. Insuper nec ille [Carolus] aliquid mihi exinde mandavit, in cujus potestate juxta seculi dignitatem hoc maxime fieri debuit. Per alios vero mihi firmiter hoc mandavit, ut fieri voluisset: *per se autem nihil inde dixit*' (Alcuin to Arno, archbishop of Salzburg; Ep. 120).

[2] Ep. 114.

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799. King.

but by his own people and fellow-citizens, universal fame hath abundantly reported.

'The third is the Royal Dignity, in which the providence of our Lord Jesus Christ hath ordained you for the ruler of the Christian people, *more excellent in power than the other aforesaid dignities, more illustrious in wisdom, more sublime in the dignity of your kingdom*[1]. Lo, now upon you alone reposes the whole salvation of the Churches of Christ. You are the avenger of crime, the guide of the wanderers, the comforter of the mourners, the exaltation of the righteous.

'Have not the most flagrant instances of impiety manifested themselves in that Roman see where formerly religion and piety shone most brightly? These men, blinded in their own hearts, have blinded their own Head. . . . These are the perilous times formerly predicted by the Truth itself, because the love of many is waxing cold.

'On no account must you forego the care of the head. It is a smaller matter that the feet than that the head should be in pain.' Alcuin proceeds to explain and expand this oracular utterance. Charles during this year (799) was intent on one of his great campaigns against the Saxons, sending his son Charles to harry Bardengau, the old home of the Lombards[2], calling in the aid of Sclavonic tribes beyond the Elbe, planning extensive transportations of Saxons into Rhine-land and repeoplings of their country by Franks. All this work, even when it is necessary—

[1] 'Caeteris praefatis dignitatibus potentiâ excellentiorem, sapientiâ clariorem, regni dignitate sublimiorem.'

[2] See vol. v. p. 100.

and here he repeats a previous warning against the exaction of tithes from the Saxons—Alcuin considers to be comparatively unimportant. It is at best healing the pain of the feet, while the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. The City of Rome and the Church of Rome are the points to which he thinks that his patron's attention should be mainly directed. 799.

It may be said that in all this we have no direct mention of the assumption of the Imperial title. This is true, but it is easy to see how arguments like those employed by Alcuin would lead up to that result. If Charles was already above the Emperor in power and wisdom, let him not be afraid to assume at least an equality of rank with him. If Rome was to be firmly governed and the repetition of such outrages as that of the 25th of April was to be prevented, let him take some title of more awful import than that anomalous 'Patriciate of the Romans' with which for the last quarter of a century he had been presiding over, but hardly guiding, the fortunes of Italy. Above all, if he was to realise his great ideal of a foster-father, guide, and protector of the Church, if he was to be the Constantine of this later age, let him be called, as Constantine was called, *Imperator Romanorum.*

All these speculations and suggestions, however, might have remained mere academical exercises but for the two events which had horrified the world, and which had darkened the atmosphere of the New and the Old Rome. These two events, the deposition and cruel punishment of Constantine VI, and the mutilation of Leo III, concurring as they did in the last years of the eighth century, facilitated, nay necessitated that other great event which fixed the fate of Europe for

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centuries. That a woman—and such a woman—should pretend to occupy the throne of the Caesars, that the Head of Western Christendom should be attacked and half-murdered in the streets of his own capital, these were two portents which shocked the conscience of the world, and which seemed to show that nothing less than a revolution, which should be also a return to the elementary principles of the great World-Empire of Rome, could cure the deep-seated malady of the age.

Leo's return to Rome, Oct. (?), 799.

After a few months' residence at Paderborn, Pope Leo set out on his southward journey. He was escorted by a brilliant company, at once a guard of honour for his person on the journey, and a strong commission to try his case on their arrival in Rome. On this commission rode two archbishops, Hildibald of Cologne and Arno of Salzburg, five bishops[1], and three counts[2].

On the 29th of November Leo re-entered Rome, amid vivid manifestations of popular joy. The great ecclesiastics, the nobles, the body (whatever it may have been) which now called itself the Senate of Rome, the little army of the *Ducatus Romae*, the nuns, the deaconesses, all streamed forth to the Ponte Molle, with banners and with psalmody, to meet the returning Shepherd and assure him of the joy of his flock at his reappearance. There too were seen the members of the four great *Scholae* or guilds of foreigners, Franks, Frisians, Saxons (from England), and Lombards, who were now settled in Rome, and had quarters assigned

[1] Cunipert (see doubtful), Bernard (probably of Worms), Hatto (of Freising ?), Jesse (of Amiens), Erflaic (or Flaccus, bishop elect; see unknown).

[2] Helmgoth, Rottecar, and Germar.

to them between St. Peter's and the castle of S. Angelo[1]. All flocked with the pontiff to the great basilica on the Vatican, where he celebrated mass, and all partook of the holy feast. 799.

Next day, after keeping the festival of St. Andrew, the Pope proceeded in state through the City to the Lateran palace. Here, after an interval the length of which we know not, Charles's ten commissioners took their seats in the great triclinium, and for a week or more examined into the charges which Paschalis and Campulus had brought against Leo, declared them to be unfounded, and sent the accusers as criminals into Frank-land, probably in order that the king himself might decide upon their punishment. Investigation of the charges against Leo.

About a year was to elapse before the return of Leo was followed by its natural and all-important consequence, Charles's fourth visit to Rome.

In the first place, shortly after Leo's departure there appeared at the Frankish court an ambassador named Daniel, who was sent by Michael, the Patrician of Sicily, and who, having discharged his commission, was dismissed with marks of high honour and favour by the Frankish king. This was in fact the last of three embassies which had come in three successive years from the Byzantine court, or from its representative in Sicily. In 797, a certain Theoctistus had come Embassies from the Greeks.

[1] According to Duchesne (ii. 36), the *Schola Francorum* had their quarters in S. Salvatore (now included in the buildings of the Inquisition). The *Schola Frisonum* had S. Michele in Borgo or in Sassia. The *Schola Langobardorum* had the church of St. Justin near S. Michele, now destroyed; and the *Schola Saxonum* had S. Spirito in Sassia. (It seems to have been called at the time S. Maria in Sassia; and the whole Borgo was called Burgus Saxonum; Dyer's History of Rome, 358.)

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from Nicetas, governor of Sicily, bringing a letter from Constantine VI, which was perhaps a cry for help from the doomed Emperor[1]. In 798, Michael, Patrician of Phrygia, and Theophilus, a presbyter, brought a letter from Irene, apparently announcing her son's dethronement, 'on account of the insolence of his manners[2],' and her own possession of the solitary throne. The object of this embassy was evidently to strengthen Irene's position by forming an alliance with the Frank[3]. It appears to have been successful, and a sign of the restored friendship between the two states was the return to Constantinople of Sisinnius, brother of the Patriarch Tarasius, who had apparently been in captivity ever since the war of 788. Lastly came the above-mentioned embassy, probably from this same Michael, now promoted to the governorship of Sicily. All these indications show that at this time Charles was not unwilling to accept the olive-branch so persistently tendered by the Augusta of Constantinople.

Death of Gerold and Eric.

The autumn of this year (799) was saddened for Charles by the tidings of the death of two of his bravest warriors, slain in battle with the barbarians of the Danube. Gerold, duke of Bavaria, brother of the beloved Hildegard, was slain with two of his officers by a troop of insurgent Avars, while he was riding in front of his followers and cheering them on to the encounter; Eric, duke of Friuli[4], fell at Ter-

[1] This is Strauss's suggestion (Beziehungen Karls des Grossen zum griechischen Reiche, p. 39).

[2] 'Propter morum insolentiam' (Ann. Einhardi), words perhaps taken from Irene's diplomatic communication.

[3] 'Haec tamen legatio tantum de pace fuit' (Ann. Laur. s.a. 798).

[4] Eric had been preceded by Marcarius (Cod. Car. 65), who may probably have replaced Hrodgaud.

satto[1], the victim of an ambush laid by the barbarous Croatians. The scene of this disaster, together with other indications[2], shows that Istria now formed part of the Frankish dominions: an important conquest, to which we are unable to assign a date, save that it must have been before the year 791. The death of Eric was an especially heavy blow for his royal master. It was he who had penetrated (795) into the far-famed and mysterious Avar Hring, and carried off its stored-up treasures. He had been a generous benefactor to the Church, a liberal almoner to the poor, and in all things, as far as we can trace his actions, a type of the Christian hero. His friendship for Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia, who composed for him a manual of the Christian life called 'Liber Exhortationis,' and who lamented him after his death in a dirge which recalls David's lament over Jonathan, is a beautiful incident in an age of violence and bloodshed.

799.

King Charles spent the winter of 799 at Aachen, and the other tidings which were brought to him there were all of a joyful kind. The subjugation—as men fondly hoped the final subjugation—of the turbulent Celts of Brittany, the expulsion of the Moors from Majorca, the surrender of Huesca in Arragon, all these successes were reported to him in the course of that winter. Not less welcome probably was the arrival of a monk from Jerusalem, bringing relics and other offerings 'from the place of the Lord's resurrection,' a present from the Patriarch of the Holy City to the great King of the West. It was apparently on

Tidings of victory, Christmas, 799.

[1] Near Fiume in Croatia.

[2] Chiefly the fact that in a letter written in 791 (Ep. Carolinae, 6, ed. Jaffé), Charles speaks of the 'dux Histriae' as his vassal.

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Christmas Day itself that the Syrian monk was dismissed in all honour from the palace, escorted by another monk named Zacharias, who was to bear the royal gifts to the Holy Place.

Charles on the coast of Picardy, 800.

With the approach of spring, Charles left his palace at Aachen, sailed down the Rhine or the Meuse into the German Ocean, coasted along till he came to the mouth of the Somme, and there landed at the monastery of S. Riquier, of which his irregular son-in-law Angilbert was head. The king's business in those regions was to strengthen the defences of the coast, and equip some kind of a fleet to repel the incursions of the Northmen, those terrible incursions which were to stain with blood the pages of the next century and to destroy so much of the infant civilisation of the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish lands.

At the shrine of St. Martin of Tours. Meeting with Alcuin.

Again putting to sea, he sailed up the Seine to Rouen, and from thence journeyed by land to the shrine of St. Martin at Tours. His avowed object was to perform his devotions at the tomb of Gaul's greatest saint, but it cannot be doubted that he also desired to converse about the affairs of his kingdom with that trusted adviser, Alcuin, who was abbot of St. Martin's monastery. Some months before, Charles had invited him to be his companion in the meditated journey to Rome, but Alcuin had declined, alleging that his feeble body, racked with daily pains, was unfitted for the fatigues of so long and toilsome a journey. 'You chide me,' he said, 'that I prefer the smoke-grimed roofs of Tours to the gilded citadels of the Romans: but I know that your Prudence remembers the saying of Solomon, "It is better to dwell in a corner of the house-top than with a brawling woman

in a wide house." And let me say it in all courtesy, iron (the iron of warlike weapons) hurts my eyes more than smoke. Tours, thanks to your bounty, rests in peace, content with her smoky homes. But Rome, which has been once touched by the discord of brethren, still keeps the poison which has been instilled into her veins, and thus compels your venerable Dignity to hasten from your sweet abodes in Germany in order to repress the fury of this pestilence.' BK. IX. CH. 5. 800.

Since, then, Alcuin persistently refused to visit Charles, Charles repaired to the monastery of Alcuin. It was indeed time that he should visit the Neustrian portion of his dominions, for he had not seen them for twenty-two years; so persistently Austrasian in his sympathies was this great king, whom Napoleon and his courtiers loved to speak of as a Frenchman.

The king's sojourn at Tours was prolonged by the illness and saddened by the death of his wife, his last wedded wife, the bright and genial Liutgarda. She died on the 4th of June, and was buried near the shrine of the soldier-saint. The widowed husband returned by way of Orleans to Paris and Aachen, held a great *placitum* at Mainz in August, and in the autumn started on his memorable fourth journey to Rome. He went at the head of an army, for the affairs of Benevento wore a threatening aspect, the young prince Grimwald again stirring mutinously against the Frankish yoke. We hear of him first at Ravenna, where he tarried seven days, and then at Ancona, from whence he dispatched his son Pippin on the usual ravaging expedition against the lands of the Beneventans. On the 24th of November he arrived at Rome. On the previous day the Pope had gone to meet him at Men- Death of Liutgarda, June 4, 800. Charles on the march to Italy.

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800.

tana, fourteen miles from Rome, and after partaking of supper in his quarters, returned to the City for the night. On the morning of the 24th Charles entered

His entry into Rome.

Rome, being received by the citizens, the ecclesiastics, the guilds of foreigners, with the same display of banners, the same chanting of devout hymns which had welcomed the returning Leo. At the foot of the Vatican hill he dismounted and walked slowly up the steps of St. Peter's (we do not hear, as on a former visit, of his kissing the sacred stairs), while Pope and clergy sang loud their praises.

Ecclesiastical synod at St. Peter's, Dec. 2, 800.

Seven days after Charles's triumphal entry into Rome a synod of all the great Roman ecclesiastics and Frankish nobles was convened in St. Peter's basilica. The Papal biographer, intent on all that redounds to the glory of his order, bids us note that the King and the Pope, who were seated, called on the archbishops, bishops and abbots to resume their seats, but that all the other priests and nobles remained standing. The King then, with that fluent and majestic eloquence of which he was master[1], set forth to the assembly the

Discussion of the charges against Pope Leo.

reasons for this, his fourth visit to Rome, and the necessity for a close investigation of the crimes urged against Leo by his enemies. At this point there is a slight divergence[2] between our two sets of witnesses. The Frankish annalists say that the great initial difficulty of the investigation was that no one was found willing to formulate the charges against Pope Leo. Of course that might mean either (which is the

[1] Would that our authorities had informed us whether he spoke in Latin or in the Frankish tongue.

[2] The divergence does not seem to me so great as is stated by v. Döllinger (p. 100); nor are the two accounts really irreconcilable.

more probable supposition) that the charges were wicked fabrications, or that in face of the royal favour manifested towards the Pope no one dared to come forward as his accuser. The Papal biographer, on the other hand, tells us that 'all the archbishops, bishops and abbots with one accord said, "We do not dare to judge the Apostolic See, which is the head of all the Churches of God. For to it and its Vicar all we are answerable, but the See itself is judged of no man. So has the custom been from of old; but as he, the supreme pontiff, shall ordain, we will canonically obey." Then the venerable chief [Leo] said, "I will follow the footsteps of the Popes my predecessors [1], and am prepared to purge myself from these false charges which wicked men have blazed abroad against me."'

The Pope's oath of exculpation, Dec. 3, 800.

All our authorities agree that this self-vindicating oath was in fact the sole event of the trial, if trial it may be called. 'On the next day at St. Peter's all the archbishops, bishops and abbots, and all the Franks in the King's service and all the Romans being present together in that church, the Pope in their presence took the four gospels in his hand, ascended the *ambo*, and with a clear voice said [2], "It hath been heard, dearest brethren, and spread abroad in many places, how evil men have risen up against me and laid grievous crimes to my charge. In order to try this cause, the most clement and most serene lord, King Charles, together with his bishops and

[1] Leo was probably alluding chiefly to the precedent of the exculpation of Vigilius (see vol. v. p. 53). In the case of Symmachus (iii. 499 (450)), the oath of exculpation does not seem to have been actually taken.

[2] So far from the Liber Pontificalis. The oath itself is included in Epistolae Carolinae (ap. Jaffé, p. 378).

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nobles, hath come unto this City. Wherefore I, Leo, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being judged by no man and constrained by none, of mine own free will do purify and purge myself in your sight and before God and His angels, who knoweth my conscience, and before the blessed Peter, Prince of Apostles, in whose basilica we stand; as thus: These criminal and wicked deeds which they lay unto my charge, I have neither perpetrated nor ordered to be perpetrated; as God is my witness, before whose judgment-seat we shall appear and in whose sight we stand. And this I do of mine own free will, for the removal of all suspicions; not as if any such procedure were found in the canons, nor as if I would impose this custom or decree [as a precedent] on my successors in Holy Church, or on my brothers and colleagues in the episcopate." This solemn oath of innocence having been sworn, the churchmen sang the litany and gave thanks to God, the Virgin, and St. Peter.'

Condemnation of Paschalis and Campulus.

In order to dismiss this mysterious business of the attack on the Pope's character we may slightly anticipate the order of events. It was probably after the lapse of several weeks[1] that Paschalis and Campulus and their associates, brought back from their exile in Frank-land, were led into Charles's presence, with the chief nobles of the two nations, Frankish and Roman, standing round them, and bitterly upbraiding them for their evil deeds. The ruffians in their disgrace fell out with one another. Campulus said to Paschalis, 'In an evil hour did I behold thy face. It is thou

[1] The Papal biographer puts this trial after the Emperor's coronation.

who hast brought me into this peril.' And so with all the others: their mutual chidings and upbraidings were a clear confession of guilt. They were condemned to death as guilty of treason[1]—an important evidence of the sovereign character which the Pope of Rome had now assumed—but on the intercession of the Pope the sentence was commuted into one of banishment.

The banner of Jerusalem brought to Charles.

On the same day on which Pope Leo performed his solemn act of self-exculpation, the presbyter Zacharias returned from Jerusalem with two monks who were commissioned by the Patriarch to bring to Charles the keys of Calvary and of the Holy Sepulchre, together with the banner of Jerusalem. The precise import of this act was perhaps doubtful. Certainly the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid would not have allowed that it conferred on the Frankish king any territorial sovereignty over Jerusalem. Still it was in a certain sense a recognition that the holiest place in Christendom was under the protection of the great monarch of the West, and in so far it helped to prepare men's minds for the impending revolution.

An interval of three weeks followed, undescribed by any of our authorities; but which we may fairly conjecture to have been occupied by those deliberations between Frankish nobles and Roman ecclesiastics which are described by the author of the Chronicon Moissiacense, and which prepared the way for the next act in the drama[2].

[1] 'Secundum legem Romanam ut majestatis rei capitis damnati sunt' (Ann. Laur. et Einhardi). It is strange that this is not mentioned by the Papal biographer.

[2] 'Tunc visum est ipso apostolico Leoni et universis sanctis patribus qui in ipso concilio aderant, seu reliquo Christiano populo

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800. Christmas at St. Peter's.

At length the fulness of time was come, and Charles, attended probably by all his Frankish courtiers and by a multitude of the citizens of Rome, went to pay his devotions on the morning of Christmas Day in the great basilica of St. Peter. That building has been often named in these pages, but I have not hitherto attempted to describe it. If we would imagine its appearance at the close of the eighth century, or indeed at any period before the beginning of the sixteenth century, the chief requisite is absolutely to exclude from our mental vision the vast Renaissance temple which Julius II and Leo X, which Bramante and Raffaele and Michael Angelo have reared upon the Vatican hill. If we must think of some still existing building, let it be S. Ambrogio at Milan or S. Paolo Fuori at Rome rather than the existing St. Peter's. Let us follow Charles and his nobles in imagination to the great basilica on the morning of Friday, the 25th of December, 800. They mount up from the banks of the Tiber by a long colonnade which stretches all the way from the castle of S. Angelo to the threshold of St. Peter's. They reverentially ascend the thirty-five steps to the platform, on which the Pope and all the great officers of his household stand waiting to receive them. Charles himself,

> 'In shape and gesture proudly eminent,' ..

with his yellow locks tinged with grey and with some furrows ploughed in his cheeks by the toils of twenty Saxon campaigns, towers above the swarthy, shaven ecclesiastics who surround the Pope. All Roman hearts are gladdened by seeing that he wears the

ut ipsum Carolum . . . imperatorem nominare debuissent' (M. G. H. i. 305). These words imply deliberation and discussion.

Roman dress, the long tunic with the scarf thrown over it, and the low shoes of a Roman noble instead of the high laced-up boots of a Teutonic chieftain[1].

'After the usual courteous salutations, the blended train of nobles and churchmen follow Hadrian and Charles into the basilica. They traverse first the great *atrium*, measuring 320 feet by 225. In the centre of the *atrium* rises the great fountain called Pinea, the water spouting forth from the top and from every bossy protuberance of an enormous fir-cone. This fountain was placed there by Pope Symmachus, the contemporary of Theodoric, who, like Leo III himself, was wellnigh

'Done to death by evil tongues.'

Round the fountain have begun to cluster the marble tombs of the Popes of the last four centuries.

They pass on: they enter the basilica proper, consisting of five naves; (the central nave much wider than the rest), divided from one another by four rows of monolith columns. These columns are ninety-six in number[2], of different materials, granite, Parian marble, African marble; and they have very different histories; some, it is said, being brought from the Septizonium of Septimius Severus, and others from the various temples of heathen Rome. They are of unequal height; and not only this inequality, but many signs of rough work, notwithstanding all the splendour of gold and silver

[1] Einhard (Vita Caroli, xxiii) says, 'Nunquam peregrinis indumentis indui patiebatur. Excepto quod Romae semel Hadriano pontifice petente et iterum Leone successore ejus supplicante longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, calceis quoque Romano more formatis utebatur.'

[2] Gregory of Tours, Gloria Martyrum, c. 27 (quoted by Duchesne, i. 194).

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plates and the vivid colouring of the mosaics on the walls, give evidence of the haste with which the venerable fabric was originally reared—men say by the order and with the co-operation of Constantine himself—in the days when Christianity could yet scarcely believe in the permanence of its hardly-won victory over heathenism. Between the pillars of the central nave are hung (as it is a feast day) costly veils of purple embroidered with gold, and at the further end of the church the gigantic cross-shaped candelabra, hanging from the silver-plated frame-work of the triumphal arch, with its 1,370 candles, lights up the gloom of the December morning. This triumphal arch, which, with the long colonnade leading up to it, was an essential feature of the early Roman basilica, is doubtless adorned with mosaics of saints and martyrs, and spans the entrance to the apsidal tribune, which is the very Holy of Holies of Rome. For here, before and below the high altar, is the *confessio* or subterranean cave in which the body of St. Peter, rescued from its pagan surroundings, the circus of Nero and the temples of Apollo and Cybele, is believed to repose in the coffin of gilded bronze provided for it by the reverent munificence of the first Christian Emperor. Over the high altar rises a baldacchino supported by four porphyry columns, and by others of white marble twisted into the resemblance of vine-stems. Keeping guard as it were in front of the *confessio* are many statues of saints and angels. Here, as if in bold defiance of all the edicts of iconoclastic Emperors, Gregory III has reared an *iconostasis* covered with silver plates, on which are depicted on one side the likenesses of Christ and His Apostles,

on the other those of the Virgin Mary and a train of holy maidens[1]; and following in his footsteps Hadrian has placed near the *iconostasis* six images, made of silver plates covered with gold. At the entrance of the choir stands the image of the Saviour, with the archangels Gabriel and Michael on either side of Him, and behind, in the middle of the choir, is the Virgin Mother, flanked by the Apostles St. Andrew and St. John. All the floor of this part of the basilica is covered with plates of silver. Behind, at the very end of the church, is seen the chair of St. Peter's successor, with seats for the suburbicarian bishops—the cardinal-bishops as they are already beginning to be called—in the curve of the apse on either side of him.

The basilica proper, that is the part within the *atrium*, measured 320 feet by 226. The best idea of its dimensions will be obtained by comparing it with the existing church of S. Paolo *fuori le Mura* at Rome, which is 306 feet long by 222 broad. That church also has its four rows of columns, its triumphal arch adorned with mosaics, its *confessio* with a reputed apostolic tomb surmounted by a baldacchino borne by porphyry columns and guarded by apostolic statues, and behind the triumphal arch it has its round apsidal end. Thus, notwithstanding its own extremely modern date[2], it may both in size and arrangement be considered as the best representative now available of the basilica of St. Peter at the end of the eighth century.

[1] Lib. Pontificalis (Vita Gregorii III, 194).

[2] The original basilica was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1823, but was rebuilt on the old lines.

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One thing more we note in passing, that the St. Peter's of Leo III was about a century older than its modern representative, reared by Julius II and Leo X and Paul III, is at the present day [1].

Such then was the great and venerable building, encrusted with memories of half a thousand Christian years, in which Charles the Frank knelt on the Christmas morning of the year 800 to pay his devotions at the *confessio* of St. Peter. Assuredly if he himself was ignorant of what was about to happen, neither the Roman citizens nor the Frankish courtiers shared his ignorance. Assuredly there was a hush of expectation throughout the dim basilica, and all eyes were directed towards the kneeling figure in Roman garb at the tomb of the Apostle.

Charles crowned as Emperor of the Romans.

Charles rose from his knees. The Pope approached him, and lifting high his hands placed on the head of the giant king a golden crown. Then all the Roman citizens burst into a loud and joyful cry: 'To Carolus Augustus, crowned by God, mighty and pacific Emperor, be life and victory.' Thrice was the fateful acclamation uttered. Then all joined in the 'Laudes,' a long series of choral invocations to Christ, to angels, to apostles, to martyrs, and to virgins, praying each separately to grant the newly-crowned Emperor heavenly aid to conquer all his foes [2].

Thus the great revolution towards which for three generations the stream of events had been steadily setting was accomplished. Once more an Emperor of the Romans had been acclaimed in Rome, the first of

[1] From Constantine the Great (320) to Charles the Great (800)=480 years, from Leo X (1520) to 1900=380 years.

[2] A specimen of these 'Laudes' is given by Duchesne, ii. 37.

that long line of Teutonic Augusti, the last of whom[1] laid down the true Imperial diadem in the lifetime of our fathers at the bidding of the son of a Corsican attorney.

Thus far all our authorities are agreed. It is important now to notice the points in which, without contradicting, they nevertheless diverge somewhat from one another. Divergent narratives.

(1) The Frankish annalists[2] both assure us that after Lauds had been sung, Charles 'was adored by the pontiff after the manner of the ancient princes.' The Papal biographer conveniently omits this fact, which the Roman *Curia* did not desire to remember, but there is no reason to doubt that it actually occurred, nor that such reverence as the Patriarch of Constantinople would have paid to Justinian or Heraclius, the Bishop of Rome paid to his now acknowledged lord, Carolus Augustus. (1) Papal adoration of the Emperor.

(2) Theophanes[3] says that the Pope 'anointed Charles with oil from his head to his feet, and arrayed him in a royal robe and crown.' This thorough anointing, which would have required that Charles should have been stripped naked in the sight of the whole assembly, does not agree with any of the other accounts, and is in itself improbable[4]. It probably arose from some confusion with the next item of information. (2) Papal unction.

(3) The Papal biographer informs us that 'on the

[1] The Emperor Francis II (August 6, 1806).

[2] Laurissenses et Einhardi.

[3] Anno Mundi 6289 (p. 399).

[4] Döllinger (p. 134) thinks that it was a fable invented by the Greeks to cast ridicule on the ceremony of the coronation.

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(3) Unction of the younger Charles.

same day' (probably at a later hour) 'the Pope anointed with the holy oil his most excellent son Charles (the younger) as king.' This, though not mentioned by the annalists, is quite intelligible. As his predecessor had anointed Pippin king of Italy and Louis king of Aquitaine, so he now anointed their brother Charles as king, probably king of the Franks, that being a title which was perhaps left open for him by his father's promotion to a higher dignity.

(4) His gifts to the Church.

(4) The same biographer mentions the costly gifts which were presented to the shrine of St. Peter by Charles and his family, after the celebration of Mass which followed the coronation. They were 'a silver table with its feet' (whose weight is not stated), 'a golden crown with jewels to hang over the altar, a golden paten, and three large chalices, one of them set with gems.' The mere gold in these vessels weighed 216 pounds, equivalent in value to more than £10,000 sterling.

(5) His alleged unwillingness to be crowned as Emperor.

(5) A most important statement, and one that has given rise to almost endless discussion, is that made by Einhard in his Life of Charles:—

'At this time he received the name of Imperator and Augustus. Which he at first so much disliked, that he declared that he would never have entered the church on that day, though it was a high festival, if he could have fore-known the pontiff's design. He bore, however, with great patience the odium that attached to him on account of his new title through the indignation of the Roman Emperors [1]. And he vanquished their stubbornness by his own far-surpassing

[1] The Emperors at Constantinople.

magnanimity, sending to them frequent embassies, and in his letters addressing them as brothers.'

I reserve my comments on this important statement for a later paragraph.

The remainder of Charles's visit to Italy may be described in a few words.

Charles's winter in Italy.

The winter was occupied in settling the affairs of the State and the Church in the new relations to one another which resulted from the re-establishment of the Empire. One of the most important of these was that henceforward the consent of the Frankish Emperor was necessary for the consecration of a newly elected Pope.

As Grimwald was still unsubdued, a second expedition was sent under Pippin to reduce him to obedience, but it does not appear to have achieved any decided success. Probably malaria, as well as the Lombard sword, defended the independence of the Samnite duchy[1].

On Easter Day (April 4, 801) Charles was again in Rome. Three weeks afterwards he visited Spoleto,

[1] We hear very little of these Beneventan expeditions in the Frankish Annals, and may therefore fairly conjecture that, if tolerably successful, they were nevertheless not glorious for the Frankish arms. Some light is thrown upon them by the letters of Alcuin. In Ep. 156, he laments that his dear friend Maganfred, Charles's faithful chamberlain, has died in the Beneventan country, and he asks Charles to consider whether an expedition into that land can be pleasing to God or profitable to Christian people. In Ep. 165, addressed to Count Chrodgar (April, 801), he repeats and explains his warning: 'I hear that you are going to ravage the Beneventan country. You know well what danger hangs over you on account of the pestilential air of that land. Therefore take care what you are doing, lest you be accused of negligence if the expedition should end in failure.'

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where, in the second hour of the night, he witnessed a tremendous earthquake which shook the whole of Italy, and brought down in ruin the roof of *S. Paolo fuori* at Rome.

April 30, 800.

Return to Germany.

From Spoleto he went to Ravenna, where he spent some of the early days of May; from Ravenna to Pavia, arriving there about the beginning of June. In the old palace of the Lombard kings he received the tidings of the arrival of an embassy from the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. From Pavia he went to Ivrea, and so over the Great St. Bernard to Switzerland, and down the Rhine to his beloved Aquae Grani, where he spent the remainder of the year.

June 24.

Meaning of the transaction of Dec. 25, 800.

Now that Charles has recrossed the Alps and sits once more in his palace at Aachen, no longer now as mere *Rex Francorum et Langobardorum* and *Patricius Romanorum*, but as *Augustus* and *Imperator*, we may suitably consider what were the causes and what was the significance of the peaceful revolution—for such in fact it was—effected in the basilica of St. Peter on Christmas Day, 800.

Not intentionally a revival of the Western as distinct from the Eastern Empire.

It is hardly necessary formally to discuss the theory which prevailed a hundred years ago[1], that there was in this act an intentional revival of the *Western* Empire which had lain dormant since the deposition of Romulus Augustulus in 476. Doubtless this was something like the practical result of Charles's coronation. After an interval of suspense, uncertainty and mutual suspicion, the two powers of East and West at

[1] Even Gibbon is not quite clear on this point. In his text he uses language which is historically correct, but the marginal note (for which presumably he is responsible) runs, 'Coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of Rome *and the West*.'

last settled down into an attitude, not of partnership, hardly of friendship, but of mutual toleration, and accepted the Adriatic as the dividing line between the two Empires[1]. And yet, near two centuries later, a monk of Salerno writing the history of his city, an Italian city, under the influence of strong anti-Frankish feeling, could say, 'The men about the court of Charles the Great called him Emperor, because he wore a precious crown on his head. But in truth no one should be called Emperor save the man who presides over the Roman, *that is the Constantinopolitan* kingdom. The kings of the Gauls have now usurped to themselves that name, but in ancient times they were never so called[2].'

The Roman Empire still in theory 'one and indivisible.'

In truth the epithet 'one and indivisible' which the French Republic used of itself when threatened by the armies of partitioning invaders, might have been applied to the Roman Empire at any time previous to the ninth century. There were jealousies and heart-burnings (as the readers of this history know right well) between the East and the West, between Arcadius and Honorius, between Leo and Ricimer; and sometimes these quarrels were on the point of bursting into the flame of war. Still the wars thus threatened, like the wars which were actually waged between Constantine and Julian or between Theodosius

[1] This is only approximately true. The details of the division which allotted Venice to the Eastern and Croatia to the Western Empire will be given in a later chapter.

[2] 'Imperator quippe omnimodis non dici potest, nisi qui regnum Romanum praeest, hoc est Constantinopolitanum. Reges Gallorum nunc usurparunt sibi talem (*sic*) nomen, nam antiquitus omnimodis sic non vocitati sunt' (Chronicon Salernitanum, cap. 11).

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and Eugenius, would have been regarded as civil wars. The great earth-encompassing *Imperium Romanum* remained, at least in theory, one, and no more convincing proof of its unity, of its indestructible feeling of organic and all-pervading life, could be given than was afforded by the marvellous reconquest of Italy by the generals of Justinian.

We must then recognise the fact that the Pope when he placed the crown on the head of Charles, and the Roman people when they shouted 'Long life to the most pious Augustus, great and pacific Emperor of the Romans,' were, in theory at least, assailing the throne of Irene, and claiming for the great Austrasian monarch dominion over all the lands, from the Pillars of Hercules to the river Euphrates, over which the Roman eagle had flapped its wings.

Charles was reluctant to give this challenge to the East.

This fact, that the assumption of the Imperial title was of necessity a challenge to the court of Constantinople, the only Christian state which could for a moment pretend to rival the Frankish kingdom in wealth and power, was doubtless one reason (as Einhard implicitly assures us[1]) for Charles's unwillingness to be hailed as Augustus. For that this unwillingness was a mere pretence, that Charles when he expressed his dissatisfaction with the ceremony was merely copying the *Nolo Episcopari* of eminent ecclesiastics, seems to me both unproved and improbable. He was not a spiritual ruler, nor expected to utter any phrases of conventional humility. It may be true, it probably

[1] Immediately after the sentence in which he describes Charles's reluctance to be crowned as Emperor, Einhard adds, 'Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis, Romanis imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magnâ tulit patientiâ.'

is true, that the subject of the change of his title from *Patricius* to *Imperator* had often been discussed in his presence by such men as Alcuin, Angilbert, and Leo himself; and the proposal had probably found a certain degree of acceptance in a mind such as his, which was always inspired by large and lofty ambitions. But he saw, as perhaps Alcuin did not see, the practical inconveniences of a permanent estrangement from the Byzantine court. He may possibly have already entertained the strange project of acquiring the Imperial crown by a matrimonial alliance with Irene. At all events, he wished to choose his own time and way for the great revolution, and saw with dissatisfaction his hand forced by the officiousness of Leo III and the enthusiasm of the Roman people.

We may perhaps be enabled to understand a little better the state of mind of the Frankish hero if we compare his position with that of Julius Caesar when Marcus Antonius at the festival of the Lupercalia offered him a kingly crown, or with that of Cromwell, when after much deliberation and many swayings of his mind backwards and forwards he finally rejected the title of King offered to him by his Parliament. In both of those cases there was much to be said in favour of the proposed change, and there were strong reasons, quite apart from any motive of mere vanity or ambition, why the foremost man in the state should accept the offered title. In both of those cases the great man's adherents—not in mere flattery and courtiership—were more anxious than he himself for the augmentation of his dignity. There also the statesman felt the obstacles, invisible to the less highly trained perceptions of his followers, which made the change a

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perilous one. The all-important difference between those cases and this which we are now considering is that in them the negative arguments prevailed, while with Charles the intervention of the sacro-sanct chief of Western Christendom, dispelled all doubts, ended all hesitation, and by proclaiming the Teutonic Caesar fixed the form of European polity for centuries to come.

The intervention of the Pope not altogether welcome.

This very intervention of the Pope was, however, in all probability one of those circumstances of the revolution which made it unacceptable to the new Augustus. If the thing had to be done—and probably he had made up his mind to accept its necessity—he would have wished it done in some other way: by the invitation of his Frankish nobles; by a vote of the shadowy body which called itself the Roman Senate (if such a shadow still haunted the north-western corner of the Forum); by the acclamations of the Roman people; or by all these instrumentalities combined, but not by the touch of the Pontiff's fingers. He foresaw, probably with statesman-like instinct, the mischief which would accrue to future generations from the precedent thus furnished of a Pope appearing by virtue of his ecclesiastical office to bestow the Imperial crown[1]. And certainly he did what in him lay to destroy the force of the precedent. No bishop of Rome or of any other see presided over the ceremony when in 813 he promoted his son Louis to the Imperial dignity. The mischief, however, was incurable. It became the deep-

[1] This is the view strongly advocated by Prof. Dahn (Deutsche Geschichte, i. 2. 359; Urgeschichte, iii. 1080). His arguments are very forcible, and I am convinced by them, but not to the extent of thinking this the *sole* reason for Charles's dissatisfaction.

rooted conviction of the Middle Ages that the Emperor, if he would be an Emperor of unchallenged legitimacy, must receive his crown in Rome from the hands of the successor of St. Peter. And not only so, but the absolutely erroneous idea that the Pope had by virtue of his plenary power over states and kingdoms transferred the Imperial dignity from Constantinople to Rome, was adopted by one canonist and monkish historian after another, till it at length found full and loud expression in the Decretal published by Innocent III in 1201, in which he upheld the cause of Otho of Brunswick as candidate for the Imperial crown against Philip of Swabia. The story of the Translation thus passed into the collection of the Decretals, and as part of the canon law of Europe reigned supreme for three centuries, till at the time of the Revival of Learning this fiction, along with the Donation of Constantine, the Decretals of the false Isidore, and others like itself, came tumbling to the ground [1].

Truly is it said by Professor Dahn, 'All the claims which were ever asserted by the great Popes against the Emperors, their theory of the Two Swords, the whole conception according to which the Pope as successor of St. Peter, as representative of God upon earth, was entitled to grant or to refuse to grant the Imperial crown as his *beneficium* to the German king ("Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolfo"); all this theory which makes the king the Pope's vassal in respect of the Imperial crown, rests on that one

[1] The history of the growth of this error is elaborately traced by von Döllinger in his article on 'Das Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen und seiner Nachfolger' (Akademische Vorträge, iii. 143–174).

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ceremony in which the first Emperor received the crown from the hand of the Roman Pope[1].'

It is reasonable to infer that so far-seeing a statesman as Charles perceived this cloud on the horizon of the future, and that his perception of it had something to do with that enigmatic saying of his to Einhard, 'Had I known what Leo was about to do, I would never have entered St. Peter's on that Christmas morning.'

Possible difficulties between the future Emperor and the King of Italy.

There is also another consideration, scarcely noticed hitherto, which, as it seems to me, may have rendered Charles averse to the proposed revolution. He had three sons, Charles, Pippin, Louis. He intended Louis to reign after him in Southern Gaul, Pippin in Italy and Bavaria, while Neustria and Austrasia, the proper home of the Franks, with their old and time-honoured capitals, Metz, Soissons, Paris, and the great Rhine-stream itself, dearest of rivers to Charles's heart, were all to be the portion of his eldest son Charles, likest of all his children to himself, who was undoubtedly to hold the predominant place in the royal partnership. Presumably therefore Charles was to be the future Emperor, but the city from which he was to take his title, the city which as Emperor he was to be pre-eminently bound to cherish and protect, would be included in the dominions of a brother, perhaps of a rival. Here was a danger, patent and obviously to be apprehended, though in the actual course of events the lamentable death of both the two young princes, Charles and Pippin, prevented its actual occurrence. We have, I think, no hint of the way in which Charles himself proposed to deal with it, but it may well have been one of the elements in the case which rendered

[1] Dahn's 'Bausteine.' ii. 395–6.

him less eager than Alcuin and Angilbert to hear the joyful acclamations of the Roman people, 'Long life to Carolus Augustus.'

Of the other chief actors in the scene the motives are not so hard to discover. The Frankish nobles and great churchmen doubtless felt their own dignity exalted by becoming the servants of a Roman Emperor. The Roman people seemed to regain the right, lost for nearly four centuries, of conferring by their acclamations the title which gave to its wearer 'the lordship of the habitable world[1].' And as for the Pope himself, may we not consider that if he renounced for the present his dream of establishing himself as the absolutely independent sovereign of central and southern Italy, he saw his advantage in the restoration of a strong Imperial rule which would make such outrages as those perpetrated upon him by Paschalis and Campulus thereafter impossible? And still the consolidation of the Papal States would go forward, though in theory he would have to hold them as a *beneficium* from the new Augustus. In practice, who could tell, with that magnificent precedent of a Pope-conferred crown, whether the relation might not one day be inverted, and the Pope become, as Boniface VIII claimed to be, lord paramount of the Emperor.

[1] Ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχή (Zosimus, passim).

CHAPTER VI.

CHARLES AND IRENE.

Sources :—

The FRANKISH ANNALS and THEOPHANES.

Guides :—

Schlosser, Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser, and *Bury*, History of the Later Roman Empire.

THE coronation of Charles the Frank as Emperor of the Romans would perhaps have formed the most fitting conclusion, as it would certainly have been the most dramatic close to this history. It seems, however, more satisfactory to continue the narrative till the death of the new Emperor, as we shall thus have an opportunity of tracing the effect of the revolution of 800 on the statesmen and courtiers of Eastern Europe.

Charles's employments during the last fourteen years of his life.

To Charles personally the first fourteen years of the ninth century were a time of comparative rest from the toils of war, of legislative activity for the welfare of his Empire, but also of heavy family affliction through the loss of those upon whom he had reckoned to carry on his glorious work into the next generation.

His *missi dominici*.

He spent the year 802 at Aachen, chiefly occupied in revising the national codes and reinvigorating the internal administration of his Empire. We hear now

for the first time of his great institution of *missi dominici*, men who were, so to speak, the staff-officers of his administration, sent into every province of his Empire to control the actions of the local courts in the interests of peace and righteousness, pre-eminently to maintain the cause of the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, and also to see that the ecclesiastical government was conducted in accordance with the canons, and that the old anarchy and licentiousness did not creep back into the Frankish Church. For the office of *missi* Charles chose chiefly, but not exclusively, archbishops, abbots, and other high dignitaries of the Church, men whose character he had tested during their residence at his court, and whom he felt that he could trust to uphold his standard of right against a grasping count or turbulent mark-grave.

Oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

One of the chief duties imposed upon these new officers in the great capitulary of Aachen (March, 802) was the administration to his subjects of a new oath of fidelity, not now to the Frankish King, but to the most serene and most Christian Emperor. 'I order,' he says, 'that every man in my whole kingdom, whether ecclesiastic or layman, each one according to his prayer and his purpose[1], who may have before promised fidelity to me in the king's name, shall now repeat that promise to me in my name as Caesar. And those who may not yet have made that promise shall now all do so, from twelve years old and upwards. And let this be done in public, so that all may understand how many and how great things are contained in that oath, not merely, as many have hitherto supposed, that they shall not conspire against the Emperor's

[1] 'Unusquisque secundum votum et propositum suum (?).'

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life, nor let his enemies into the realm, nor be privy to any treachery against him. Far greater duties than these are involved in this oath.' The capitulary then enforces the obligation of each man to abide in the service of God and to dedicate to Him all his bodily and intellectual powers; to abstain from perjury and fraud of all kinds; not to filch the lands of the Emperor nor conceal his fugitive slaves; neither by force nor fraud to do any injury to the holy churches of God, to orphans, widows or strangers, 'forasmuch as our Lord the Emperor, under God and His saints, has been appointed protector and defender of all such'; not to lay waste the land which a man holds in fief[1] from the king in order to enrich his own adjoining property; always to follow the king's banner to war; not to hinder the execution of his writ, nor to strive to pervert the course of justice in the provincial assembly[2]. All these duties are implicitly contained in the new *sacramentum* which is to be administered to the subjects of the Emperor.

End of the Saxon War, 804.

Two years after the issue of this capitulary, in 804, came the final close of the long, dreary, and desolating war for the subjugation of the Saxons. It was accompanied by the transportation of ten thousand Saxons with their wives and children, from those districts which had ever been foremost in rebellion, to distant and widely separated provinces of Germany and Gaul. At last the spirit of that proud people was broken. The bishops of Bremen, Münster, and Paderborn could enjoy their princely revenues and rule their wide provinces in peace. Christianity was triumphant, and the 'ban' of the Most Serene Emperor

[1] 'Beneficium.' [2] 'Placitum.'

commanded unquestioning obedience from the Rhine to the Elbe.

Visit of Pope Leo III, Nov. 804.

In November of this same year the Emperor heard the tidings of an intended visit of Pope Leo III to his court. The occasion of this visit was a remarkable one. Charles had heard in the previous summer a startling rumour that some of the actual blood of the Saviour had been discovered—presumably by a miracle—in the city of Mantua. He asked the Pope for a report on this wonderful discovery; and Leo, probably not sorry to have an excuse for leaving Rome where he had many enemies, visited Mantua to obey his patron's behest, and then for the second time crossed the Alps. He was met by the young king Charles at St. Maurice and escorted with much reverence to Rheims, near to which city he met the Emperor. Soissons and Quierzy were the chief stages in their joint journey to Aachen, at which place they kept their Christmas together. Unfortunately no record is preserved to us of the conversations which Emperor and Pope held with one another, whether about the Mantuan prodigy or the many important affairs of Church and State which were doubtless discussed between them. Soon after Epiphany (January 6, 805) Leo III took his departure for Rome, and Charles saw his face no more.

Wars with Denmark, 808-810.

Wars with Denmark, fitful but not unimportant, occupied the years from 808 to 810. Göttrik (or Godefrid), king of Denmark, an obstinate heathen, seemed likely at one time to hold the same place as chief foe of the Franks and their Christianity which had once been occupied by Widukind the Saxon. But towards the end of the year 810 came tidings

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that Göttrik had been murdered by one of his own body-guard, and Hemming his nephew gladly concluded a peace, which was unbroken during the remainder of the life of Charles.

This year, 810, is one of great importance in the negotiations between Charles and the Eastern Caesar, and to the earlier stages of these we now turn, after this slight sketch of the events which were occurring in Western Europe.

Relations with Constantinople.

A general view of the question may be obtained by extracting a few sentences from the chief authorities on either side.

Einhard's account.

Einhard, the trusted minister of Charles's old age, writes (as we have already seen [1]): 'He bore with great patience the odium that attached to him on account of his new title through the indignation of the Roman Emperors. And he vanquished their stubbornness by his own far-surpassing magnanimity, sending to them frequent embassies, and in his letters addressing them as brothers.'

In an earlier chapter [2] the same author writes: 'The Emperors of Constantinople' [observe that they are not here spoken of as Roman Emperors], 'Nicephorus, Michael, and Leo, of their own accord seeking his friendship and alliance, sent to him many ambassadors. With whom—notwithstanding the strong suspicion caused by his assumption of the Imperial title, as if he were desirous to wrest the Empire from them—he succeeded in establishing a very durable treaty, so that no occasion for offence remained between the two parties. For to the Romans and Greeks the power of the Franks had always been an object of suspicion;

[1] p. 196. [2] Cap. xvi.

wherefore also this proverb is current among the Greeks, "Have the Frank for a friend, do not have him for a neighbour[1]."'

Account given by Theophanes.

We now turn to Theophanes, the Byzantine nobleman and monk, the enthusiastic champion of 'the most pious Irene,' on account of her zeal for the images of the saints. He says: 'In this year[2] (800–801), on the 25th of December, Carulus, king of the Franks, was crowned by Pope Leo; and having planned to cross over to Sicily with a fleet, he changed his mind and chose rather to be married to Irene, sending ambassadors for this purpose, who arrived in the following year.'

'Next year (801–802) the legates[3] who were sent by Carulus and by Leo the Pope arrived in presence of Irene, praying her to be yoked in marriage with Carulus and so to bring together in one the Eastern and the Western lands. To which proposal she would have agreed had not the Patrician Aetius hindered her, he being at that time the all-powerful minister, and intriguing to obtain the diadem for his own brother.'

This passage of the Byzantine historian gives us some important information.

Charles's alleged plan for the conquest of Sicily.

I. As to Charles's alleged designs on Sicily. As has been already said, we are told[4] that in the year 799 an ambassador named Daniel came from Michael, prefect of Sicily, to Charles's court at Paderborn; that he was there at the same time as the fugitive Pope Leo, and 'was dismissed with great honour' by

[1] ΤΟΝ ΦΡΑΝΚΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΕΧΙΣ. ΓΙΤΟΝΑ ΟΥΚ ΕΧΙΣ. *Εχις* probably = *ἔχῃς* (subjunctive). At any rate the sense requires that the verbs shall not be taken in the indicative.

[2] Anno Mundi 6293.

[3] *ἀποκρισιάριοι.*

[4] Annales Laurissenses et Einhardi, s. a. 799 (see p. 181).

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the king. We have no mention of any commands with which this Sicilian ambassador was entrusted by the Empress. Have we here a cry for help and an offer of transferred allegiance on the part of a prefect of Sicily who is revolting from the rule of Byzantium? Again, in the year 801 or 802 we find a certain Leo, a captain of the guard[1], a Sicilian by nation, fleeing from Sicily and taking refuge at Charles's court; but as he is also spoken of as an ambassador sent by Irene 'to confirm the peace between the Franks and Greeks,' it is possible that we are here only dealing with the case of one of Irene's creatures involved in her downfall (shortly to be described), and fearing to face the anger of her enemies. Still these slight hints, combined with the words of Theophanes, incline us to the belief that the new Emperor may have cherished the very natural ambition to add Sicily to his Italian dominions. The project may have fallen through on account of the insufficiency of his fleet, or may have been laid aside in order not further to embitter his relations with Constantinople. Sicily never formed part of the Frankish Empire, and only a few years after Charles's death began its long servitude to Saracen conquerors.

Papal interest in uniting Charles and Irene.

II. We note that, according to the narrative of Theophanes, the ambassadors of Charles were accompanied by legates from the Pope[2]. We can well understand that Leo, if he had not originally suggested the matrimonial scheme, would earnestly desire its success. However plainly we can now see that the

[1] 'Spatharius.'

[2] Theophanes uses for both sets of messengers the word *apocrisiarii*, which was always used of the Papal legates.

current of events was setting towards the separation of the Eastern and Western Churches as its inevitable end, no Pope, who believed in the prerogatives which he claimed, can have accepted such a conclusion without a pang. The iconoclastic schism was at an end. Irene was nearer to the Pope on the question of image-worship than Charles. Why not unite the chiefs of the Eastern and Western world by the bonds of holy matrimony, and through them rule supreme over an undivided Christendom?

Charles's ambassadors, Bishop Jesse and Count Helmgaud.

III. The cunningly-devised scheme, however, came to an untimely end. Charles's ambassadors were Jesse bishop of Amiens and Helmgaud [1], apparently one of the counts of the palace. Perhaps one of the messengers was not very happily chosen, for Bishop Jesse, though Alcuin praises 'the deep bull-like bellow of his voice, so fitting in one who has to read the scriptures to the people [2],' was considered by Pope Leo (to whom he was sent on an embassy six years later, with Helmgaud again for his companion) to be an unfit person to be employed as the Emperor's representative and an unsafe depositary of state secrets [3]. But success in the mission was not possible whoever had been the

Opposition of Aetius.

[1] Otherwise called Helmengald, or Helmgoth. His connection with the palace is deduced from his epitaph written by Theodulf (Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, i. 532). See Simson, ii. 553.

[2] 'Ordo ministrorum sequitur te, Jesse, magistrum,
Vox tibi forte sonat Christi taurina per aulam
Ut decet ex alto populis pia verba legenti.'
Alcuini Carmina, ibid. i. 246.

[3] 'Jesse vero episcopus, serviens vester, aliud servitium vobis facere potest. Nam missaticum per patrias deportare non nobis videtur quod idoneus sit, neque ad secretum consilium provocandus.' Letter of Leo III to Charles in 808 (Jaffé's Monumenta Carolina, p. 314).

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messenger. Irene, after she had by a ghastly crime got rid of her son's rivalry, became a puppet-ruler in the hands of the eunuchs of her palace. The two chiefs, Stauracius and Aetius, fought hard for the mastery, but the duel was ended by the sickness and death of Stauracius in the summer of the year 800. Aetius, hereby left in a position like that of Grand Vizier in Irene's cabinet, began to plot for the elevation of his brother Leo to the Imperial throne [1], and he was not disposed to allow his plans to be thwarted by this wild scheme of the marriage of his mistress to a Western barbarian.

Irene deposed, Oct. 31, 802.

Soon there supervened another and more powerful reason for the failure of the negotiations. While Jesse and Helmgaud were still lingering at Constantinople they witnessed a revolution by which Irene herself was hurled from the throne. Possibly the rumour of the marriage negotiations had alarmed the national pride of the Greeks; more probably the arrogance and ambition of the eunuch Aetius had roused the opposition of some powerful Byzantine nobles. Taking advantage of the Empress's sickness and her consequent absence at the suburban palace of Eleutherium [2], the grand treasurer [3] Nicephorus, accompanied by Nicetas, chief captain of the guard (whom Aetius supposed to be his friend), and by many other great officers of state, presented himself at the fourth hour of the night before the doors of the

[1] *διὰ τὸ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀέτιον βιάζεσθαι Εἰρήνην τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Λέοντα ἀναγορεῦσαι βασιλέα.* Theoph. A. M. 6295.

[2] I presume that this palace was suburban, but I regret that I cannot find any reference to its site in the writers on the topography of Constantinople whom I have consulted.

[3] *γενικὸς λογοθέτης.*

Brazen Palace[1], the innermost sanctuary of Imperial grandeur, and obtained admission from the palace guards, who believed, or pretended to believe, that the intruders came by command of Irene, wearied of the ascendency of Aetius, to proclaim Nicephorus as her colleague. The palace gained, all the rest was easy. Soldiers were sent at dawn to arrest Irene at the Eleutherium, and Nicephorus with his adherents went in procession to the 'Great Church' of St. Sophia, where he was crowned by the patriarch Tarasius, once Irene's own supple minister. Theophanes, who abhors Nicephorus and cannot forgive the wrong done to the 'most pious Irene, the lover of God,' declares that the common people cursed both the crowner and the crowned, but that the nobles of Irene's party, who had received so many benefits at her hands, either turned traitors, or were stricken with a sort of numb despair, and felt as if they were dreaming when they saw 'that wise and noble lady, who had striven so gloriously for the faith, pushed off her throne by a swine-herd like Nicephorus[2].' Even the heavens, he suggests, shared the sullen indignation of the citizens. The face of the sky was dark, and the cold, unusual for an autumn day at Constantinople, foreboded the chill suspiciousness of the new Emperor and the griping penury to which he would reduce his people.

Nicephorus Emperor.

On the next day Nicephorus went alone and unattended, with no Imperial state, to the room in the palace where Irene was imprisoned. He pointed to his sandals, not purple like those of an Emperor, but

Interview between Nicephorus and Irene.

[1] Χαλκῆ.

[2] *ὑπὸ συβώτου ἐκβληθῆναι.* The swine-keeping is probably a mere term of abuse.

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black like those of an ordinary subject: he assured her that he had been reluctantly compelled to assume the diadem, and cursed the turbulent ambition of his supporters. Then in gentle tones he tried to soothe her fears, he gave a little homily on the evils of avarice, and conjured her to deal frankly with him and tell him where all the Imperial treasure was deposited. With more dignity than might have been expected from a woman who had loved empire so passionately, Irene said that she had recognised the hand of God in her unexpected elevation to the throne, and now recognised the same hand, chastising her for her sins, in her deposition. She had been often warned, she said, of the ambitious designs of Nicephorus, but had rejected what she believed to be the calumnious aspersions on his loyalty, and had preserved his life. Too late she learned that those calumnies were true. However, he was now her Emperor, and she as his subject would pay him reverence. She only asked to be allowed to retire to the palace of Eleutherium which she had herself built, and there spend the rest of her days in privacy. Her request, said Nicephorus, should be granted if she would swear to reveal to him the place of deposit of the Imperial treasure. She swore 'on the honourable and life-giving wood' of the cross that she would show him everything, to the last obol: and straightway fulfilled her promise. He, having obtained what he desired, transported her, not to the palace of Eleutherium, but, first, to a convent on Princes' Island[1] in the Sea of Marmora. Then fearing that the hearts of the people were again turning towards her, he removed her, on a bitterly cold day of

Irene banished.

[1] Still called Prinkipo, as in the days of Theophanes.

November, to the island of Lemnos, where she was kept under strictest guard. She died on the 9th of August in the following year (803), and her body was removed to Princes' Island, and buried in the convent which she had founded there.

Her death Aug. 9, 803.

Theophanes relates—surely with a slight touch of malice—that the deportation of Irene took place under the very eyes of the legates of 'Carulus' who were still abiding in the city[1]. There does not seem to have been any rumour of an expedition by the Frankish Emperor to deliver or to avenge the lady of his choice. The days of knight-errantry were not yet, and there was no touch of romance in Charles's offer of marriage. It was only a cold-blooded piece of political calculation, and that calculation had failed, as it was assuredly bound to fail in any event. Had Charles succeeded, had he broken up the happiness of his home by introducing into the gay and brilliant circle of his sons and daughters at the waters of Granius, this grim and sanctimonious Medea of Byzantium, he would have found after all that the Eastern diadem was not to be purchased, even by such a sacrifice. It was in the nature of things impossible that the Rhine could be ruled from the Bosphorus or the Bosphorus from the Rhine. The proposed alliance between Constantine VI and Hrotrud, had it taken place before 800, might have changed the face of Europe; but now, after the challenge had been given to Byzantium by Charles's coronation as Emperor at Rome, no makeshift scheme of marriage could heal the fatal schism. East and West must remain divided for evermore

Charles's attitude of acquiescence in these events.

[1] ὄντων ἀκμὴν τῶν ἀποκρισιαρίων Καρούλου ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁρώντων τὰ πραττόμενα.

CHAPTER VII.

VENICE.

Sources :—

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Besides the FRANKISH ANNALS and THEOPHANES, there is an important letter of Charles to Nicephorus in EPISTOLAE CAROLINAE (Jaffé's Monumenta Carolina, Ep. 29, p. 393). For Venetian affairs our best authority must now be considered to be JOANNES DIACONUS (SAGORNINUS), whose character as a historian was briefly sketched in vol. vi. pp. 487 and 506. It will be seen by a reference to that volume that this author is by no means a contemporary authority, having lived near the end of the tenth century. He evidently, however, had access to some earlier sources of information, and upon the whole he is probably the best authority available for the early history of Venice; certainly better than ANDREA DANDOLO, praiseworthy as his work is in many respects, since that eminent Doge lived in the middle of the fourteenth century, and manifestly derived some of his best materials for this part of his history from Joannes Diaconus himself. It is important to lay stress on this fact, since what may be called the Received Text of almost all modern histories of Venice is taken straight from Dandolo, without attempting to discriminate between the various authorities on which his narrative is founded. It should be mentioned however that, from some cause not fully explained, this part of the chronology of Joannes Diaconus has fallen into dire confusion, which is rectified in the pages of the more scientific Dandolo.

Another source, in part earlier than Joannes Diaconus, but of a most heterogeneous character, is the so-called CHRONICON ALTINATE, on which, as well as on the sources of Dandolo's history, Dr. Henry Simonsfeld has written two valuable mono-

graphs[1]. As he points out, it might more suitably have been called CHRONICON TORCELLENSE, but it is in fact 'a heterogeneous mass of chronicles, fragments of chronicles, memoranda of various dates[2]' and of various degrees of authority, chiefly connected with the city of Torcello.

Some of these documents, in his opinion, date from the first half of the tenth[3], or possibly even from the end of the ninth century[4], and are thus decidedly earlier than the work of Joannes Diaconus; but the compilation of them is apparently assigned to as late a period as the beginning of the thirteenth century: and thus the Chronicon Altinate as a whole must be considered a less trustworthy authority than Joannes Diaconus.

In addition to the above-mentioned monographs by Dr. Simonsfeld, Prof. G. Monticolo has written a valuable treatise entitled 'I Manuscritti e le Fonti della Cronaca del Diacono Giovanni' (Roma, 1889), and has given us a new edition of Joannes Diaconus along with the CHRONICON GRADENSE (a work which covers a good deal of the same ground as the Chronicon Altinate) in the first volume of his 'Cronache Veneziane Antichissime' (Roma, 1890), from which I make my quotations. A few sentences in the great work of the Emperor CONSTANTINE VII (PORPHYROGENITUS), 'De administrando Imperio,' written about 950, throw a valuable light on the story of Pippin's invasion of Venetia, and on the whole confirm the account of it given by the Frankish annals.

Guides :—

Prof. *Harnack's* essay, 'Das Karolingische und das byzantinische Reich in ihren wechselseitigen politischen Beziehungen,' is a most valuable guide to this part of Franco-Imperial history. The dissertations by *Venediger* (Halle, 1872) and *Strauss* (Breslau, 1877) on the same subject (the relations between Charles the Great and the Eastern Empire) are also useful, but Harnack's is, it seems to me, the more able performance. Venediger's work ends with 788; Strauss's with the fall of Irene.

Gfrörer's 'Byzantinische Geschichten,' vol. i (Graz, 1872), written with a strong bias towards the point of view of the

[1] 'Venetianische Studien,' i; München, 1878: 'Andreas Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke'; München, 1876.

[2] Andreas Dandolo, &c., p. 79.

[3] A. Dandolo, &c., p. 80.

[4] Venetianische Studien, i. 31, n. 1.

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Latin Church, has many luminous suggestions, but is rather too prone to indulge in fanciful conjectures.

Filiasi's 'Memorie Storiche de' Veneti' (8 vols., Venice, 1796–1798) contain a great deal of careful work on the early history of Venice, and the preference which he generally exhibits for the chronicle of Joannes Diaconus (whom he calls Sagornino) does credit to his critical faculty.

Character of the Emperor Nicephorus.

THE new Emperor Nicephorus who had won the diadem from Irene belonged neither to the best nor to the worst class of Byzantine sovereigns. His office before he mounted the throne had been that of Grand Logothete or Arch-treasurer, and a Grand Logothete he remained to the end of his career. He was intent on finding out new sources of taxation, and re-imposed some duties on imports which Irene had perhaps unwisely remitted for the sake of popularity. In pursuance of the same end he deprived the convent and church lands of the exemption from the hearth-tax which they had hitherto enjoyed. At the same time, though not reverting to the iconoclastic policy of the Isaurian Emperors, he showed himself languid in his defence of orthodoxy, and refused to persecute the Paulician dissenters from the Catholic Church. He thus came into collision with that fierce defender of the faith, Theodore of Studium, and his name is therefore loaded with abuse by the bigoted Theophanes. This abuse, as he did not redeem his heresy by military talent, like Leo III and Constantine V, as he fought feebly against the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, and as his life and reign ended in a terrible disaster, inflicted by the Bulgarian ravagers, has clung perhaps too persistently to his memory. Clio may always safely scold an unsuccessful sovereign.

Embassy from Nicephorus to Charles.

On his first assumption of the diadem, Nicephorus, perhaps feeling the need of some strong external support, showed himself willing to enter into diplomatic relations with Charles, though the title of the Frankish Augustus challenged his Imperial claims even more directly than those of a female sovereign like Irene. Overlooking this fact, however, Nicephorus commissioned three ambassadors, a bishop named Michael[1], an abbot, Peter, and a white-uniformed officer of the guards[2] named Callistus, to accompany Charles's legates, Jesse and Helmgaud, on their return to the Frankish court. They found the Emperor at Salz[3] on the Franconian Saale, were courteously received by him, and carried back with them what we should call a draft treaty of peace between the two monarchs, bearing Charles's signature[4]. There can be little doubt that this document contained some stipulation for the recognition by the Eastern Caesar of the Frank's imperial dignity: but it is equally plain that this recognition was withheld. The answer from Constantinople, though eagerly expected, did not arrive:

July (?), 803.

[1] The name of Michael's see does not seem to be given. Charles in his letter to Nicephorus calls him *metropolitanus* (but see p. 252).

[2] Candidatus.

[3] Now Königshofen, in the north of Bavaria, about forty miles north-west of Bamberg.

[4] This seems to be the meaning of the words in Annales Einhardi, 'et pactum faciendae pacis in scripto susceperunt.' The peace was still only 'facienda,' not 'facta': a grammatical distinction which it would perhaps not be safe to insist upon, were it not that it is so fully confirmed by Charles's letter to Nicephorus in 811. The *Annales Sithienses*, which say 'Pax inter Carolum et Niciforum imperatores per conscriptionem pacti confirmata,' are not a first-rate authority, but an abridgement apparently from older and fuller records.

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there was for eight years a suspension of diplomatic relations between the two courts, and the Empires drifted into a position first of sullen isolation and at last of active and declared hostility.

The negotiations broken off.

What may have been the motive of Nicephorus for thus uncourteously closing negotiations which he himself had opened we are not informed. Possibly he saw that his own subjects would not tolerate a recognition which seemed like a dethronement of the New Rome in favour of the Old.

Ecclesiastical complications.

The relations between the two Churches also were becoming more and more embittered, and the two disputes, ecclesiastical and political, acted and reacted upon one another. On the one hand, we have (in 809) the piteous complaint of the monks on Mount Olivet to the Pope that the abbot[1] of S. Saba[2] called them heretics and cast them rudely out of the cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem, because they sang the Nicene Creed with the added words concerning the Holy Spirit, 'which proceedeth from the Father and the Son.' 'Pray inform our Lord Charles the Emperor,' they say, 'that we heard these words, which we are accounted heretics for using, sung in his own chapel.' They evidently hoped that the long arm of the mighty Frank, the rival of Nicephorus and the ally of Caliph Haroun and his son, would be stretched forth to protect them from the arrogant Greeks[3]. On the other hand, Nicephorus the patriarch of Constantinople (who was raised to that dignity in February, 806, on the death of Tarasius) was, throughout the lifetime of his

[1] Igumenus (ἡγούμενος).

[2] Between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea.

[3] See Epistolae Carolinae, 22 (Jaffé, p. 382).

Imperial namesake, forbidden to hold any communication with the see of Rome, evidently because Leo was supposed to be devoted to the interests of Charles.

Venice in the eighth century.

The quarrel thus commenced between the two Empires was fought out in the waters of the Adriatic, and we must therefore turn our attention to the little cities of maritime Venetia which have hitherto (save for one passing allusion in the letters of Hadrian [1]) been unnoticed since the year 740, when they took part in the recapture of Ravenna from Liutprand [2].

At the period of that recapture we found the Venetian islanders trying abortive changes in their constitution, substituting *Magistri Militiae* for Dukes, and then finally settling down again under the rule of their old chief magistrate, the *Dux Venetiarum*.

Dux, not Doge.

The title of *Doge*—the form which this Latin word assumed in the Venetian dialect—has been made famous over the wide world by the exploits and the disasters, the virtues and the vices of the statesmen who for 'a thousand years of glory' presided over the fortunes of the Venetian state. But for that very reason I prefer not to use it at the present early period of their history. Too many and too proud associations are connected with that form of the name. In the eighth century the Duke of Venice differed little from the Duke of Naples or any other duke of a city under the Byzantine rule, save that perhaps already the people had a larger share in his election than in most of those other cities. Therefore the first man in the Venetian state shall still be to us a Duke and not a Doge.

After the restoration of the ducal dignity, three

[1] p. 47.

[2] Vol. vi. pp. 486–490.

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dukes, *Deusdedit*, *Galla*, and *Domenicus* (surnamed *Monegarius*), followed one another in somewhat rapid succession. Each precarious reign came to a violent end. Deusdedit was supplanted by the traitor Galla; Galla was upset by a popular revolution; Monegarius was the victim of a conspiracy; and each duke as he fell from power was subjected to the cruel punishment of the plucking out of his eyes, a punishment which the Venetians had perhaps adopted from their Byzantine overlords.

Duke Deusdedit, 742–755; Duke Galla, 755–756; Duke Domenicus (Monegarius), 756–764.

Temporary institution of the Tribunate, 756.

The only point in the history of these shadowy dukes which seems worthy of notice is the limitation which the Venetians imposed on the power of Monegarius. Joannes Diaconus informs us that the Venetians when they had raised this duke to power, 'after the fashion of the vulgar herd, who never remain long in one fixed purpose, but with superstitious folly are always looking out for one political nostrum after another, in the first year of Monegarius' duchy set over themselves two tribunes, who were to hold office under the ducal decree; an expedient which they tried' [but apparently tried vainly] 'to repeat, for each successive year of his tenure of the duchy.' We surely behold in this abortive attempt to limit the power of the sovereign the promptings of the same spirit which in the fourteenth century devised the Council of Ten and in the fifteenth gave birth to the awful tribunal of the Invisible Three.

Duke Mauritius, 764–787.

On the deposition of the unpopular Monegarius a citizen of Heraclea named *Mauritius* was elected duke, a grave and statesmanlike man, who seems to have governed the islands well for twenty-three years (764–787). It was perhaps a sign of his statesman-

like prudence that he accepted the long low island of Malamocco[1] (which had been the seat of government since the accession of Deusdedit) as his residence, and did not attempt to make his native city Heraclea once more the capital. For still the Genius of the Venetian Republic had not found its destined home. It was to be found at Malamocco, on the Lido, at Torcello; anywhere but on the hundred islands of the Deep Stream[2]. However, the day was drawing near. In the eleventh year of Duke Mauritius' reign (775) the little island of Olivolo, the easternmost of the cluster on which Venice now stands, was by Papal authority erected into a new bishopric; an indication that inhabitants were beginning to settle in that neighbourhood.

Party strife. A Frankish and a Byzantine party.

Party spirit, as we can see from the annals of that stormy time, ran high in the Venetian islands. The old rivalry between Heraclea and Equilium[3] may probably have been still smouldering. It is also clear that there were two parties in the confederacy, one of which looked towards the sea and was in favour of loyal submission to the Byzantine Emperor, while the other looked landward and was ready to accept patronage (not perhaps domination), first from the Lombard and then from the Frankish rulers of the *Terra Firma* of Italy. It was indeed inherent in the nature of things that this should be so. Venice's only chance of obtaining or preserving freedom or self-government lay in the balanced strength of these two Empires, either of which could crush her if it stood alone. And moreover the course of her trade required that she should

Venetian trade.

[1] Then called Methamaucus.

[2] Rivus Altus = Rialto.

[3] See vol. vi. p. 484.

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be on fairly good terms with both these powers, each of which was a customer, while each supplied her with some part of the staple of her trade[1]. From Charles's dominions she received the Frisian wool which she wove into cloth, and exported in the shape of rugs and mantles to the Saracens of Bagdad. On the other hand, from all the countries of 'the gorgeous East' she was beginning to import the costly fabrics of silk and velvet, the mantles trimmed with peacock and ostrich feathers, the furs of sable and ermine which she was sending over the passes of the Alps for sale to the splendour-loving nobles of Rhineland and Burgundy[2].

Share in the slave-trade.

741-752.

Along with this legitimate trading, however, the Venetian islanders appear to have carried on a traffic in slaves, of a kind which was condemned by the conscience of Christian Europe. In the days of Pope Zacharias, as we learn from the Liber Pontificalis[3], Venetian merchants were wont to visit Rome, and in the markets of that city (such markets as that wherein Gregory the Great saw the boys from Deira exposed for sale) they bought a multitude of slaves, both male and female, whom they shipped off to Africa to be sold to the subjects of the Abbasside or Aglabite Caliphs. Though slavery was not yet a forbidden institution,

[1] This part of the subject is well handled by Gfrörer, i. 81–88.

[2] In this connection I may refer to the story told by the Monk of St. Gall (ii. 17) about the hunting-party organised by Charles in order to cure his courtiers of their love of misplaced finery (see p. 153, n. 2). The gorgeous raiment there described is said to have been 'brought by the Venetians from Eastern countries to Pavia.' The Monk of St. Gall is a good witness as to manners and customs if a poor one for historical facts.

[3] I. 433 (ed. Duchesne).

this selling of Italian peasants, baptized Christians, into bondage to the Moors, shocked the feelings of Christendom. Zacharias redeemed the captives whom the Venetians had bought, and prohibited that trade for the future in the markets of Rome: but it is not probable that he had the power to prevent it in other cities of Italy. It seems likely that the slave trade for which Charles rebuked the subjects of Hadrian and the shame of which the Pope threw back upon the 'Greek' traders [1], may have been, in part at least, carried on by the enterprising merchants of Heraclea and Malamocco.

The only blot on the wise administration of Duke Mauritius, so far as it has been recorded, was his attempt to make the ducal dignity hereditary in his family. Nine years before his death [2] he persuaded the Venetians, 778.
'eager to give him pleasure,' to associate with him in the duchy his son *Joannes*, who after his death reigned for some time alone, and in the seventh year of his reign associated with himself his son *Mauritius II.* Neither son nor grandson seems to have been a worthy ruler of the Venetian state. Of Joannes, the chronicler [3] writes, 'Neither by written document nor by oral tradition can I find that he handled affairs well for the advantage of his country.' He remarks in passing that in the time of the joint government of these two men, Joannes and Mauritius, 'the sea overflowed so much that it unreasonably covered all the islands [4].'

Duke Joannes, 787-804, and Mauritius II, 794-804.

During all this time, and in fact for nearly seven

[1] See p. 45, and Ep. 64 in Codex Carolinus.

[2] So says Andrea Dandolo, lib. vii. cap. 12. 27: two years before his death according to Joannes Diaconus.

[3] Joannes Diaconus, p. 99.

[4] 'Temporibus quorum apud Veneciam adeo excrevit mare ut omnes insulas ultra modum cŏoperiret.'

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centuries longer, the ecclesiastical head of the Venetian state was to be found at the little city of Grado, fifty miles away from Venice, wearing the proud title of patriarch, and often disputing with his neighbour and old rival the patriarch of Aquileia[1]. At the beginning of the ninth century, John, patriarch of Grado[2], had in some way incurred the displeasure of the duke of Venice, who sent his son, the young Mauritius, with a fleet to execute his vengeance. The patriarch was captured and was thrown headlong from the loftiest turret of his palace. 'His death,' says the chronicler, 'caused great grief to his fellow-citizens, for he was slain as an innocent man, and he had governed the Church of Grado for thirty-six years[3].' He was buried near the tombs of the martyrs, and for generations the stain of his blood upon the stones was shown to wondering visitors[4].

Relations with the Patriarch of Grado.

Murder of the Patriarch Joannes, *circa* 801-2.

The Patriarch Fortunatus.

The successor of the slain patriarch was his kinsman, Fortunatus of Trieste. A restless and intriguing politician rather than a churchman, Fortunatus devoted all his energies to avenging the murder of his relative, with perhaps the additional object of wresting the ecclesiastical province of Istria from his rival of Aquileia and subduing it to his own jurisdiction. Some years after the time which we have now reached, Pope Leo,

[1] For the curious history of these two patriarchates see vol. v. pp. 454–484; vol. vi. p. 466.

[2] The same whose letter to Hadrian was intercepted at Ravenna (see p. 26).

[3] Joannes Diaconus, p. 100. The number of years is obliterated in the MS., and has to be supplied from other sources.

[4] 'Cujus sanguis in testimonium mortis suae in petris *praesentialiter* apparet,' quoted by Dandolo in the fourteenth century verbatim from Chronicon Altinate (tenth century): a curious illustration of the danger of this 'scissors and paste' way of compiling history.

even while pleading for the bestowal of some ecclesiastical preferment on Fortunatus, added a postscript begging the Emperor Charles to care for his soul and admonish him as to the discharge of his spiritual duties. 'For I hear such things concerning him as are not seemly in an archbishop, neither in his own country nor in those districts of Frank-land where you have given him preferment[1].'

Flight of Fortunatus to the Frankish court, 803.

The intrigues of the new patriarch against the dukes of Venetia having been detected, he was compelled to take refuge in Charles's dominions. He crossed the Alps, and at last reached the Emperor's court, which was still being held at Franconian Salz. In order to conciliate Charles's favour, he brought with him as a present two ivory doors carved with marvellous workmanship. These doors perhaps resembled the curious ivory *plaques*, representing scenes from the life of the Saviour, which still adorn the episcopal throne of Maximian at Ravenna. At the same time two Venetian tribunes, Obelerius of Malamocco and Felix, together with some others of the chief men in the islands, fled to the mainland, but did not go further than the city of Treviso. Whether or not their flight was the result of a discovered plan of rebellion in which Fortunatus was their accomplice we are not clearly informed, but so it was that the Trevisan refugees, in correspondence with their partisans in Venetia, succeeded in effecting a revolution. Obelerius was chosen duke; Joannes and Mauritius, who evidently had lost all hold on the affec-

Revolution in Venetia.

[1] 'Quia non audivimus de eo, sicut decet de archiepiscopo, neque de partibus istis, neque de partibus Franciae ubi eum benefeciastis' (Leonis Epistolae, 5; ap. Jaffé, p. 322). Jaffé dates this letter 806–810.

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tions of the people, fled to the mainland, Mauritius across the Alps into Frank-land, Joannes to Mantua, and neither of them ever returned to the island-duchy.

Obelerius, duke, 804–810, with Beatus and Valentinus.

Obelerius (whom the Frankish annalists call Willeri or Wilharenus) held the ducal office for six years; and with him were associated two of his brothers, first *Beatus* and then *Valentinus*. This period is one of the most important but also one of the most obscure in the early history of Venice. There was evidently a sharp struggle for supremacy between the Byzantine and the Frankish parties in Venetia, but on which side the ducal influence was thrown it is not easy to say. Later tradition assigned to Obelerius a Frankish wife (whom one chronicler[1], in defiance of all known facts, even called a daughter of Charles), and declared that under her influence he played the traitor to the true interests of his country and made himself the pliant instrument of the Frankish court. On the other hand, we find him accepting at the hands of the Greek general Nicetas the dignity of *Spatharius*[2], and his brother Beatus going with the same Nicetas to Constantinople and returning decorated with the honour of a consulship[3]. Probably the fact was that the Venetian dukes were in their heart true to neither power, but trimmed their sails adroitly, as the breeze seemed blowing most steadily from the East or from the West, and thus made themselves suspected by both.

His alleged Frankish partialities.

However, one fact vouched for by the Frankish

[1] Chronicon Altinate.

[2] Colonel of the Life-guards.

[3] 'Tunc Beatus dux qui cum Niceta patricio Constantinopolim iyit, in Veneciam reversus, ab imperatore honore ypati condecoratus est' (Joannes Diaconus, pp. 103–104).

806.

Submission of Venetia and Dalmatia to Charles, 806.

annalist stands out clear and incontestable. In the year 806, Venetia with the opposite coast of Dalmatia became for the time a recognised part of the Western Empire. In the Christmas of that year, Charles was holding his court at the villa of Theodo on the Moselle, and 'thither came [the so-called] Willeri and Beatus, dukes of Venetia, together with Paulus duke of Zara, and Donatus bishop of the same city, ambassadors of the Dalmatians, with great gifts, into the presence of the Emperor. And there the Emperor made an ordinance concerning the dukes and their subjects, as well of Venetia as of Dalmatia[1].' This is the first mention that we have had of Dalmatia, the first hint that Charles's empire was extending down the eastern shore of the Adriatic; and it is perhaps accounted for by the fact (recorded by Joannes Diaconus) that the two Venetian dukes soon after their accession had 805 (?). 'sent forth a naval armament to lay waste the province of Dalmatia[2].' That is to say, that Obelerius and Beatus having decided, for the time, to accept the protection of Charles rather than that of Nicephorus, constrained their Dalmatian neighbours to follow their example.

War with Byzantium.

Expedition of Nicetas.

The subjection of Venetia and Dalmatia to the Frankish power, although but temporary, seems to have been the exciting cause which changed the smouldering ill-will of the Byzantine ruler into active hostility. In the latter part of the year 806 a fleet was sent from Constantinople into the Adriatic under the command of the patrician Nicetas. Dalmatia appears to have

[1] Annales Einhardi, s. a. 806.

[2] 'Deinde predicti duces navalem exercitum ad Dalmaciarum provinciam depopulandam destinaverunt' (Joan. Diac., p. 102).

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been first subdued, and then the fleet came into Venetian waters. Fortunatus[1] the patriarch, that stormy petrel of Venetian politics, who had not long returned to his see of Grado, quitted it in haste when the ships of Nicetas were seen in the distance, and fled again to his Frankish patron. The operations of Nicetas seem to have been completely and speedily successful[2], and through the greater part of the year 807 he remained with his fleet in the Venetian waters, wielding probably the same kind of authority which an exarch of Ravenna had possessed while exarchs still remained. It was at this time that Obelerius received from Nicetas the dignity of *Spatharius*, and consented that his brother Beatus should go, virtually as a hostage, to Constantinople. The young Frankish king Pippin had evidently at this time no fleet with which he could pretend to meet the Imperial squadron, and he was fain to consent to a suspension of hostilities till August, 808, which gave Nicetas time to return to Constantinople. He took with him not only the ducal hostage Beatus, but two prisoners, Christopher, bishop of Olivolo (a young Greek who had become a vehement partisan of Fortunatus and had thus probably been drawn into anti-Byzantine

[1] The movements of Fortunatus between 803 and 806, though described at some length by Joannes Diaconus, are very difficult to understand, and I shall not attempt to explain them here.

[2] That Venetia was lost to Charles before the end of 806 is shown by the statement of Annales Einhardi under that year, that 'the ambassadors who four years before had been sent to the king of the Persians [the Caliph], sailing through the very stations of the Greek ships, returned to the place on the coast which served as a port for Treviso (ad Tarvisiani portus receptaculum), unperceived by the adversary.' Evidently the ambassadors after their four years' absence from the West had a very narrow escape from capture by the Byzantine fleet harbouring at Venice.

courses), and the tribune Felix, who had taken a leading part in the revolution of 804, and had perhaps thus incurred the displeasure of Constantinople. Both these captives appeared in the presence of 'Augustus' (Nicephorus), and were by him sentenced to perpetual banishment [1].

Demolition of Heraclea.

To this period is referred one of the most mysterious events in the early history of Venetia—the partial [2] destruction of the city which had once been her capital, the proud and turbulent Heraclea. That the destruction was the work of Venetian hands is clear [3], but the motive which prompted it is not manifest. We have not heard for some time of the old feuds between Heraclea and Equilium, but it is probable that they had broken out afresh. There are some indications that Equilium herself shared the fate of her rival—Dandolo records at great length the names of the families belonging to both cities [4] which were transported thence to Rialto—and it seems possible that the other islanders came to the conclusion that this sempiternal quarrel would only be appeased when the waters of the lagunes flowed over the burnt ruins of both the rivals. Possibly, too, the party which looked

[1] 'Quos Augustus exilio dampnavit' (Joan. Diac. p. 103).

[2] I use the words 'partial destruction' notwithstanding the apparently positive statement of Joannes Diaconus ('igne combusta est'), because there is such a strong tradition that the final destruction of Heraclea took place in 810, at the time of Pippin's invasion.

[3] 'Eodem quoque tempore civitas Eracliana *a Veneticis* iterum devastata atque igne combusta est' (Ibid. p. 103). The 'iterum' is explained by a previous entry to the same effect immediately after the accession of Obelerius (p. 102).

[4] The 'Proceres et Magnates Aquilegienses' of Dandolo (vii. 14. 12) must surely mean nobles of Equilium.

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seawards and eastwards for the future of Venetian politics, deemed it desirable to destroy such of the cities as were situated on Terra Firma, lest they should be used hereafter as hostages by the Frankish lords of Italy and hinder the free and unshackled growth of the city of the Lagunes.

Paulus, the Byzantine admiral, fails in his attack on Comacchio, 809.

At the end of the truce the Byzantine fleet returned first to Dalmatia and then to the Venetian waters, where it abode during the winter. Its commander was now not Nicetas but an officer named Paulus, and he early in 809 made an attack on Comacchio, the city which, as we have seen[1], marked the extreme northern limit of the Papal territory. The attack was successfully repelled by the garrison—we have no indication whether its commander was in the Papal or the Frankish service—and after this failure Paulus opened negotiations for peace with the young king of Italy. It is possible that herein he somewhat exceeded his commission: but, however that may be, the negotiations came to nothing, being frustrated, as the Franks believed, by the tricks and devices of the dukes of Venetia, whose interest required that the two Empires should continue hostile[2]. The Byzantine admiral, discovering their treachery, and having reason to believe that they were even plotting his assassination, weighed

[1] See vol. vii. p. 218.

[2] Our information as to these transactions is derived entirely from Annales Einhardi (it is singular that Theophanes makes not the slightest allusion to these Venetian campaigns); and their language is somewhat enigmatic: 'Dux autem qui classi praeerat, nomine Paulus, cum de pace inter Francos et Graecos constituendâ, *quasi sibi hoc esset injunctum*, apud Pippinum Italiae regem agere moliretur, Wilhareno [Obelerio] et Beato, Venetiae ducibus, omnes inchoatus ejus impedientibus, atque ipsi etiam insidias parantibus, cognitâ illorum fraude, discessit.'

anchor and sailed away from the lagunes, leaving the ungrateful islanders to their fate.

Pippin's invasion of Venetia, 810.

Now, in the year 810, followed that great invasion of Venetia by Pippin which is the first conspicuous event in the history of the island-state, an event glorified by painting and by song, but as to the real history of which we are still profoundly ignorant. It is a hopeless task to attempt to combine the various accounts of this campaign into one consistent narrative, and they must therefore be reproduced separately with all their mutual divergences. We have (1) the Frankish account of the affair, (2) the early, and fairly trustworthy, Venetian account of it, (3) the Byzantine version, and (4) the legends which passed current concerning it in the thirteenth century, and which may contain some precious grains of historic truth, or may be absolute romance.

The Frankish narrative (contemporary).

I. The Frankish narrative[1]: 'Meanwhile King Pippin, roused by the perfidy of the Venetian dukes, ordered [his generals] to make war on Venetia both by sea and land, and having subjected that region and received the surrender of its dukes, he sent the same fleet to lay waste the shores of Dalmatia. But when Paulus the prefect of Cephalonia came with the Eastern fleet to the help of the Dalmatians the royal [Frankish] fleet returned to its own quarters.'

The narrative of Joannes Diaconus (end of the tenth century).

II. The early Venetian narrative[2]: 'Meanwhile the treaty which the peoples of the Venetian [islands] had of old with the Italian king was at this time broken by the action of King Pippin. For that king moved forward an immense army of the Lombards in order to capture the province of the Venetians; and

[1] Annales Einhardi, s.a. 810. [2] Joannes Diaconus, p. 104.

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when with great difficulty he had passed through the harbours which divide the shores of the islands, he at last came to a certain place which is called Albiola, but he was by no means able to penetrate further in, and there the dukes, begirt by a great array of the Venetians, boldly attacked the same king, and by the grace of God a triumph was given to the Venetians over their enemies, and thus the aforesaid king retired in confusion.'

The Byzantine narrative (tenth century).

III. The narrative of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus[1]: 'Many years after the departure of Attila there came [against Venetia] Pippin the king, who then ruled over Pavia and other kingdoms, for this Pippin had three (!) brothers who ruled over all the Franks and Sclavonians. Now when King Pippin had come against the Venetians with great power and a multitude of people, he encamped on the mainland on the other side of the channel between the Venetian islands, at a place which is called Aeibolae (*sic*). The Venetians then, seeing King Pippin with his power coming against them and intending to disembark with his cavalry at the island of Madamaucus (*sic*), for that is the island nearest to the mainland, by throwing masts [across][2] blocked up the whole of the passage. Pippin's followers being thus defeated in their design, since there was no other available passage, took up their quarters for six months on the mainland, and made war every day on the Venetians. The latter went on board their ships and stationed themselves behind the masts which they had placed there, while King Pippin stood with his people on the shore.

[1] De Administrando Imperio, cap. 28 (pp. 123–125, ed. Bonn).

[2] Βαλόντες κερατάρια. Translation doubtful.

The Venetians fought with bows and missile weapons, not suffering them to cross over to the island. Then King Pippin, being at his wits' end, said to the Venetians, 'Come under my hand and sovereignty, since you belong to my country and sphere of rule.' But the Venetians answered, 'We are servants of the Emperor of the Romans, and not of thee.' But [at last] being overcome by the harassment which he caused them, they made a treaty of peace with King Pippin on condition of paying a large tribute. But from that day the tribute has been continually diminished, yet it subsists even till the present time: for the Venetians pay to him who holds the kingdom of Italy or of Pavia every year thirty-six pounds of uncoined silver[2].' 810.

IV. The legendary story[1]: 'Belenger (Obelerius), duke of Venice, was a traitor, and went to France with the priest Fortunatus and his wife, and persuaded Charles (*sic*), son of lord Pippin, and Emperor, to invade Venetia. He came to Methamaucus (Malamocco), which was at that time a very fair city of the Venetians, and when the inhabitants saw King Charles approaching with his great array, they all fled, both great and small, into the capital city of the Venetians which is called Rialto, and there remained in Methamaucus only one old lady. Then when Charles was in seisin of that city, he began the siege of the capital, and was there for six months, his men living in tents along the sea-shore, and making prisoners of the Venetians who passed that way in their ships. But one day when the Venetians came to the *mêlée* with

The legendary narrative (thirteenth century).

[1] In Chronicon Altinate and Chronicle of Canale (thirteenth century; old French), quoted by Simson (Jahrbücher, pp. 595–6).

[2] The text, probably corrupt, has διβάρια, an unknown word.

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the Franks, having great quantity of bread in their ships they hurled some of it against the Franks. This disheartened Charles, who hoped to reduce the enemy by famine. Then he sent to seek for the one old lady who was left behind in Methamaucus. When she was brought into his presence his retainers treated her discourteously, but he said to her, "Tell me, dost thou know of any device by which I may enter yonder city?" The old lady said, "They were bad men who fled away, taking all the city's treasure with them, and left me here to perish miserably. But if you will give me two squires who will conduct me into that city, I know many poor men there who, if you will give them some of your money, will make such a contrivance as shall bring you and your men into the city." The Emperor hearing this believed the old lady, gave her some of his money, and caused her to be rowed across into the city, where she spoke to the duke and revealed to him all that the king had said to her. Hereupon the duke gave her a hundred artisans, with whom she returned to the king, and said, "Sire, give of your substance to these men that they may make a bridge of osier wood across the water by which your horsemen may enter the city." Then King Charles gave of his substance to these artisans, and they bought boats and wood and ropes, and made the bridge over the water and bound it fast to the ropes. And when King Charles saw the bridge he believed right well that his men might mount upon it and go into the city. And the old lady said to him, "Sire, let your men cross over this bridge by night and they will find the Venetians in their beds and you will have the city without fail."

'When the night came, the Franks went with their

horses on to the bridge, and the artisans who had made it began to sail towards the city. But when the horses smelt the water they began to fall this way and that, and broke their legs, and knocked their heads against the sides, and thus they broke the bridge, and the riders fell into the water and were drowned therein. The old lady and the Venetian workmen fled into the city, and the Venetians went on board their ships and surrounded Methamaucus and found there King Charles the Emperor, who was in a great rage and cursed grievously when he saw the loss of so many of his men and horses, and the sea covered with their dead bodies and the wreckage of the bridge scattered hither and thither. And when the Emperor saw the Venetians with their navy all well armed, he said, "Where is the Duke?" Then they prayed him to come on shore, and my lord duke Beatus met him there, and Charles and all his knights dismounted, and the Emperor asked Beatus for news of his brother, duke Belenger, and said before all the Venetian nobles that Belenger had counselled him to come and take Venice, to which Beatus and the other Venetians said nothing, because they were determined to take vengeance of Belenger. Then they prayed King Charles to come and see the chief city of the Venetians. And the king kissed the duke and all the other noble Venetians who were there, and then he went on board the duke's vessel. And while they were sailing along lord Charles held a mighty great spear in his hand, and when he saw the greenest and deepest water, he threw his spear into the sea with all his force and said, "As surely as that spear which I have thrown into the sea shall never be seen again by me, nor by you, nor by

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any other creature, so surely shall no man in the world ever have power to hurt the kingdom of Venice, and he who shall desire to hurt her, on him let fall the wrath and the vengeance of our Lady, as it has fallen on me and on my people." All the clergy and people of Venice were assembled to meet King Charles when he landed, and on his return from the church to which he at first repaired they gave him a great banquet, and then escorted him to Ferrara.' The chronicler then goes on to describe the measures taken with reference to the traitorous duke 'Belenger,' but we need not further follow his untrustworthy recital.

It has seemed better to quote this romance at length in order that the reader may see the whole absurdity of it at once. It cannot be necessary to point out its utterly unhistorical character. Charles the Great probably never visited Venice: he was certainly not south of the Alps in the year 810. Nor is the story made credible by substituting Pippin's name for that of his father. The loaves of bread discharged from the Venetian catapults; the old dame of Malamocco with her hundred working men from Venice; the bridge (more than a mile long) from Malamocco to Rialto made by the Venetian artisans and broken to pieces by the stumbling horses,—all these incidents evidently belong to the domain of mere fiction and are inspired by the wildest spirit of medieval mythology. But the historian of Venice will never be able entirely to disregard even this preposterous legend, since, pruned of some of its more obvious absurdities, it has found a place in the classic pages of Andrea Dandolo, and it is portrayed in two large pictures by Vicentino on the walls of the *Sala dello Scrutinio* in the Ducal

Palace. For generations to come, visitors to Venice will no doubt gaze upon those painted romances and believe that they record actual events in the earliest history of the great Republic.

Historical residuum.

When we come to discuss the small residuum of historic fact at the bottom of all this foam and froth of patriotic imaginings, all that we can safely say is that the young king Pippin instituted a strict blockade of the Venetian islands, which may have lasted for half a year; that he possibly made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to the inner group of islands, which was, however, of the less importance because Malamocco not Rialto was still the chief seat of the Venetian state; but that the injury which his blockade did to the commerce of the islanders was so considerable that in the end, seeing themselves abandoned by their Byzantine protectors, they consented to accept Charles as their overlord, and to pay him a certain yearly tribute.

That this was in fact the result of Pippin's expedition, that it was not a failure in the end, whatever partial reverses he may have met with, is sufficiently shown by the words of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, whose account of Pippin's Venetian campaign seems on the whole the most worthy of credence. He had no motive to magnify, but rather strong motives to minimise, the degree of the Venetian subjugation to the Western ruler: yet he evidently implies that Pippin's operations, though by no means brilliant, were on the whole successful.

Foundation of the new Venice.

We shall find, however, that Frankish domination over Venetia was short-lived. The real world-historical importance of Pippin's invasion lay in the fact that it

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opened the eyes of the Venetians to the insecurity of their position at Malamocco and the other islands of the outer barrier of the lagunes. One of their first acts after the restoration of peace was formally to remove the capital of their state to the place named the Deep Channel (*Rivus Altus*). There, in that little cluster of islands, sheltered from attack by land or sea, in a spot whose narrow and winding channels were accessible to commerce but inaccessible to war, they reared that wonderful city which has made the name of Rialto for ever memorable in the literature of the world.

810.

This was the true foundation of Venice, the true beginning of her proud history. All that had gone before was but a prologue, spoken on some one or other of the outlying islands, to the mighty drama of the Bride of the Sea. It interests us Englishmen to remember that only eight years before the foundation of the new Venice, Egbert the West-Saxon, having been long an exile at the court of Charles the Great, returned to his own country, and assumed, first of all his race, the title of King of England. The two ocean queens were born, as it were, on the same day.

802.

Pippin's Dalmatian expedition,

After receiving the submission of Venice, Pippin sailed to the coast of Dalmatia, but here he was met by a Byzantine navy under the command of Paulus[1], Prefect of Cephalonia, and was compelled to retire without having achieved any conquest. Very soon after his return he died, on the 8th of July, 810, and was buried at Milan, where his tombstone, a slab of white marble, was discovered not many years ago in

add death, July 8, 810.

[1] Probably the same as the admiral who made the attack on Comacchio in 809.

the church of St. Ambrose[1]. What was the nature of the disease which carried off the young, brave, and beautiful king of Italy in the 33rd year of his age, we are not informed. It is an obvious conjecture that it was connected in some way with his Venetian and Dalmatian campaign, and that either chagrin at his partial failure or a fever caught during his encampment by the lagunes winged the arrow of death: but this is only a conjecture unsupported by any sentence in our authorities. BK. IX. CH. 7. 810.

Pippin left five daughters, who after his death were educated at their grandfather's court, and a son, Bernard, whose story is one of the saddest pages in the family history of the Carolingians. Two years after his father's death he was proclaimed king of Italy (or perhaps rather in official style, king of the Lombards), and was sent to govern his father's realm, which had during the interval been ruled by *missi dominici*, chief among them Charles's cousin Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, the generous defender of the divorced Desiderata[2]. Bernard was probably at this time about fifteen years of age. His revolt against his uncle Louis the Pious, his cruel death, and the depressing influence of remorse for that crime on his uncle's character, all lie outside the range of this history. Pippin's family. 812. 818.

Before the news of the death of Pippin had reached

[1] The tombstone which was discovered in 1874 bears this inscription:—

✠ Hic Pipinus rex quiescit in pace qui in hac regnavit provincia ann. XXVIII m. III. Depositus V Idus Jul. indictione III fil. d. m. Caroli.

[2] See vol. vii. p. 327.

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810. Another Byzantine embassy.

the Byzantine court, Nicephorus had despatched to Italy a messenger, Arsafius the *Spatharius*, to see if he could arrange terms of peace between the two great Adriatic powers. There was this advantage in directing the embassy to Pippin, king of the Lombards, that the difficult question of the recognition of Charles as Emperor of the Romans was thereby evaded[1], but that advantage was of course lost when the ambassador, arriving at Milan or Pavia, found the palace empty and Pippin in his grave. However the old Emperor, who had long been waiting for some such tender of the olive-branch from Constantinople, succeeded in inducing Arsafius to cross the Alps and take up with himself at Aachen the web of diplomacy which was to have been woven with his son. A few sentences from Charles's letter to Nicephorus[2], written in the early part of 811, will best explain the then existing posture of affairs:—

Charles's letter to Nicephorus.

'We have received with all honour the ambassador Arsafius, whom you sent with a verbal message and with letters to our son Pippin, of blessed memory. And though he was not accredited directly to us, yet perceiving him to be a prudent man, we have held discourse with him and given diligent heed to the things which he had to relate. And with good reason, for his messages, both written and verbal, were so full of the desire for peace and mutual charity that only a fool would have found them uninteresting[3].

[1] This is pointed out by von Döllinger (Akademische Vorträge, iii. 128).

[2] Epist. Carol. 29 (Jaffé, pp. 393–396).

[3] 'Possetque judicari penitus insipiens cui talia . . . videntur insipida.'

Wherefore, as soon as we heard that he had come to the borders of our realm, a happy instinct moved us to desire that he should be brought into our presence; and now since he to whom he was sent, our dear son, by God's providence has been removed from human affairs, we resolved that he should not return empty-handed nor with the disappointment of a mission unperformed. BK. IX. CH. 7. 811.

'And not only so: but looking back to the time when, in the first year of your reign, you sent the metropolitan Michael, and the abbot Peter, and the life-guardsman Callistus to settle the terms of peace with us and to federate and unite these two realms in the love of Christ[1], we remained like one standing on a watch-tower, waiting for the appearance of the messenger or the letter which should bring back to us the reply of your amiable Brotherhood. But now —such is the natural weakness of the human mind— hope in this matter had wellnigh given place to despair. Still we trusted in Him who never deserts those who put their confidence in Him, and believed that, as the Apostle says, He would not suffer our labour to be in vain in the Lord. Therefore we greatly rejoiced when we heard of the arrival of your messenger the glorious *Spatharius* Arsafius, believing that we should arrive at the much desired certainty concerning the things which were left uncertain, and that we should receive your answer to the letters which we gave to your aforesaid messengers. And so in fact it has proved, for we look upon the words and letters which have thus been addressed to our 803.

[1] 'Ad constituendam nobiscum pacem et federanda atque adunanda haec duo in Christi caritate' (*sic*).

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son as substantially containing the desired reply. Wherefore with thanks to Almighty God who has thus breathed into your heart the desire for peace, we at once without doubt or delay have prepared our embassy to your amiable Brotherhood.'

This letter is important as a comment on Einhard's words, 'Charles bore with patience the indignation of the Roman emperors and vanquished their stubbornness by his frequent embassies and fraternal letters.' It explains the strained relations which undoubtedly for eight years (803–811) existed between the two empires. And it entirely disposes of the erroneous statement made by Dandolo, and on his authority largely adopted even by accurate historians, that the arrangement for fixing the boundaries of the two empires, which I am now about to describe, was concluded in 803 instead of eight years later.

It was a striking illustration of the wide-reaching character of Charles's statesmanship that the ambassadors from Constantinople met at Aachen the ambassadors from Cordova who had come to negotiate a peace on behalf of the Emir El Hakem, the tyrannical sovereign of Moorish Spain.

Charles's return embassy.

The ambassadors whom Charles now despatched to Constantinople were three, Haido bishop of Basle, Hugo count of Tours, and Aio a Lombard of Friuli. The terms of the treaty of peace which they were authorised to conclude were on Charles's part the surrender of the Venetian islands and of the maritime cities of Dalmatia, that is practically of the whole coast-line of the Northern and Eastern Adriatic[1]. On

[1] The surrender of maritime Venetia is stated in Annales Einhardi, s.a. 810, 'Nam Niciforo Venetiam reddidit': of the cities

the part of Nicephorus there can be no doubt, though it is nowhere distinctly stated in our authorities, that the essential condition was the recognition of Charles as Emperor, that is virtually the admission that the Empire was now no longer one, but two.

Fall of Obelerius.

Charles's abandonment of Venice involved the abandonment of the duke Obelerius, who had certainly been disloyal to the Byzantine, if not too faithful to the Frank. The ambassadors who were sent to Constantinople took him with them in their train and handed him over to the Eastern Caesar, along with the Sicilian Leo who, as we have seen, ten years before had fled for refuge to Charles's court. Obelerius was probably condemned to perpetual exile, certainly not put to death, since twenty years later he returned to Venice and attempted a counter-revolution which cost him his life [1].

Duke Agnellus (Angelo Participazio or Badoer), 811-827.

As the claim of the Eastern Emperor to the overlordship of Venice was now undisputed, the election of a successor to Obelerius and his brothers—all now deposed—was held under the presidency of Arsafius [2], and the choice fell upon *Agnellus* who, according to the lately introduced expedient, had two tribunes assigned to him yearly as his assessors. Agnellus, who figures in the later histories of Venice as *Angelo Participazio* or *Badoer*, seems to have been a wise and prudent ruler. His son Joannes was for a time associated with him in the sovereignty, and men of

of Dalmatia in Einhardi Vita Karoli, cap. xv: 'Dalmaciam, exceptis maritimis civitatibus, quas, ob amicitiam et junctum cum eo foedus, Constantinopolitanum imperatorem habere permisit.'

[1] Joannes Diaconus, p. 110.

[2] Called Ebersapius by Joannes Diaconus, p. 105.

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the lineage of Agnellus were generally to be found on the list of the dukes of Venice for nearly a century and a half from his elevation.

This duke is a figure of especial interest for all lovers of art, as he was the first founder of the great Ducal Palace. The building raised by him was still standing at the end of the tenth century when Joannes Diaconus, chaplain of the Doge of Venice, wrote his history[1].

Return of Fortunatus to his See.

As we are here leaving the story of the Venetian commonwealth it should be mentioned that the fortunes of the patriarch Fortunatus appear not to have been neglected by his Frankish patron. As a result of the negotiations at Aachen this refugee bishop seems to have been permitted to return to his see of Grado, to which by Charles's permission he was probably allowed to subject the dioceses of Istria[2].

Importance of this treaty on the after history of Venice.

The fact that in this severance between the Eastern and Western Empires, Venice was allotted to the former, was of transcendent importance in the history of the Queen of the Adriatic. It is true that her subjection to the Augustus at Constantinople was of the gentlest kind and transformed itself with little difficulty, in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, from subjection to alliance. Still that subjection, or connection, did exist and always enabled Venetian statesmen to plead that they were *de jure* as well as *de facto* independent of the Western Empire, thus preventing them from being swallowed up in that morass of feudal anarchy into which the Carolingian Empire sank so soon after the death of its founder.

[1] 'Agnellum . . . qui palatii hucusque manentis fuerat fabricator' (Joan. Diac. p. 106).

[2] See on this point Gfrörer, i. 123–130.

Had it not been for the treaty of Aachen it is possible that instead of the gorgeous city of the Rialto the world would have seen a petty town with insignificant commerce, taxed and tolled, and judged or misjudged without mercy at the caprice of some turbulent little baron, her feudal superior[1].

[1] This point is well brought out by Gfrörer, i. 135.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FINAL RECOGNITION.

Sources :—

THEOPHANES; ANNALES EINHARDI.

Guide :—

Harnack, 'Das Karolingische und das Byzantinische Reich.'

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THOUGH the treaty of Aachen was virtually concluded with Nicephorus, its final ratification did not fall within that Emperor's reign. When Charles's ambassadors arrived in Constantinople, they probably heard the terrible tidings of the overthrow of Nicephorus by the Bulgarians. The Logothete-Emperor had collected a fine army and had led it, confident of success, against his turbulent neighbour Crum, king of the Bulgarians. The campaign opened brightly: he took and plundered Crum's palace, and received an embassy from that barbarian suing almost abjectly for peace. Puffed up with success, Nicephorus refused to grant it and thereupon the Bulgarian king, driven to despair, drew a line of circumvallation round the camp of the invaders, harassed and terrified them by 'alarums and excursions,' and finally at nightfall stormed their camp and slew Nicephorus himself, nearly all his officers, and private soldiers more than could be numbered. The disaster must have been as signal as the defeat of Valens by the Visigoths, and like that defeat, it was the result

Defeat and death of the Emperor Nicephorus, 811.

July 25, 811.

of a combination of arrogance and bad generalship. The head of Nicephorus, severed from his body and fixed on a pole, was for days exhibited by the victor in savage scorn to the officers of the barbarous tribes who served under his banner. After this he caused the flesh to be removed, mounted the skull in silver, and was wont to invite the Sclavic chiefs who visited his palace to drink to him out of the skull of a Roman Emperor. 811.

The son of Nicephorus[1], severely wounded in the great battle, reigned but for a few months, and was then removed into a monastery to die[2]. On the second of October (811), Michael the grand chamberlain[3], son-in-law of Nicephorus, was acclaimed as Emperor. The new Emperor, who reigned but for two years, was one of the most insignificant monarchs who ever received the homage of the servile courtiers of Constantinople. Chosen apparently for no other reason than his reputation for orthodoxy, he reversed in all things the policy of Nicephorus, scattered in lavish gifts to the Church and to the populace the treasures which his father-in-

Accession of Michael (Rhangabe), Oct. 2, 811.

[1] Stauracius.

[2] The reason for this palace revolution, the actors in which could not wait for the obviously impending death of Stauracius, is said to have been partly his design to secure the diadem for his wife Theophano, but partly a scheme which was floating through the brain of the dying Emperor, for turning the Empire into a democratic republic. Theophanes says (A.M. 6303): Ὁ δὲ Σταυράκιος ἀνιάτως ἑαυτὸν ὁρῶν διακείμενον τῇ γαμετῇ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσπούδαζε περιποιήσασθαι, ἢ δημοκρατίαν ἐγεῖραι Χριστιανοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι κακοῖς. One would gladly hear more of this scheme for the restoration of the old Republic. The thought suggests itself, whether it was possibly connected with the assumption of the Imperial title by Charles the Frank.

[3] 'Curopalates.'

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law had accumulated, persecuted some of the heretics whom his father-in-law had protected, and ruled during his brief span of royalty as the passive instrument of the monkish fraternity. Being obliged at last to go forth to battle with the Bulgarians, and being ignominiously defeated, he resigned the throne without a struggle to a popular general, Leo the Armenian, and retired to a monastery, where he droned away thirty-two years of life unfeared and therefore unmolested.

Elevation of Leo the Armenian, July 11, 813.

Michael's embassy of recognition, 812.

To this insignificant ruler, however, before his deposition fell the duty of ratifying the treaty with the Frankish prince, and thus establishing that duality of Empire in the Christian world which endured for six centuries and a half, till the fall of Constantinople. He despatched an embassy to Charles, consisting of Michael, Metropolitan of Philadelphia [1], the life-guardsman Arsafius and his comrade Theognostus, to ratify the peace which had been all but concluded with his predecessor. Michael and Arsafius had made the journey before, the former in 803, the latter in 810. Theognostus, as far as we know, was strange to diplomacy. The new Emperor, trembling on his uneasy throne and possibly thinking of the possibility of enlisting Charles as his helper against the terrible Bulgarians, eagerly consented to an alliance on the terms previously arranged, and begged that it might be made to include his son Theophylact [2] whom he was about to associate with him as a colleague, and whom he vainly hoped

[1] So says Simson, ii. 481. See Annales Einhardi, s. a. 812.

[2] This is probably the meaning, as Harnack points out (p. 58), of the rather obscure words of Theophanes (A. M. 6304): *ἀπέστειλεν δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κάρουλον βασιλέα τῶν Φράγγων περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ συναλλαγῆς εἰς Θεοφύλακτον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.* There is no warrant for the Latin version 'qui de pace *atque matrimonio* cum Th. ejus filio tractarent.'

that the people would hail as his successor. The same ambassadors were charged to renew the friendly relations with the Pope, interrupted during the reign of Nicephorus. The Metropolitan and the two *Spatharii*, accompanied by the returning ambassadors of Charles, made their appearance at Aachen in the early days of January, 812[1]. Having displayed the rich gifts which they brought from the lavish Michael, they were admitted to a public audience in the great church of the Virgin Mary. Written instruments setting forth the terms of the peace—doubtless as settled by the embassy of 811—were exchanged between the Emperor and the Eastern ambassadors in the presence of the great nobles of the Frankish realm, and this transaction being ended, the ambassadors, who had probably brought a trained choir along with them, burst forth into sacred song praising God for His mercy vouchsafed to the great Basileus, Charles. *Basileus* in the official language of the Empire was now the technical word expressive of the sublime Imperial dignity, while *Rex* was reserved for the lesser herd of barbarian potentates. The recognition was thus complete. The accredited representatives of the Augustus of Constantinople had greeted the Frankish chieftain as Emperor. This fact was in itself irreversible. Henceforth no one could deny that there was both an Eastern and a Western Empire, and Charles could with confidence thus describe the two realms in a letter which he addressed a year later to his beloved and honourable brother, the glorious Emperor Michael[2].

[1] We get the date 'in octavâ die Theophaniae' [=13 January] only from the Monk of St. Gall (ii. 7), a doubtful authority.

[2] Ep. Car. 40: 'Karolus divinâ largiente gratiâ Imperator et

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812.

The Eastern ambassadors visit Rome.

After they had fulfilled their commission at Aachen, the Eastern ambassadors journeyed to Rome, and there, while bringing the Patriarch's greetings to the Pope, and thus resuming the interrupted communication between the Churches, they at the same time solemnly handed to the Pope in St. Peter's the treaty of peace between the two Emperors, and received it back from him stamped in some unexplained way with the seal of his approval [1].

Affairs of Benevento.

How far the Emperor's relations with the still unsubdued portions of Italy may have been affected by these changing relations with the Eastern Empire we are not informed. We hear nothing of help previously given by Constantinople to Benevento, but the state of affairs between the Frankish king and the Samnite duchy had been for some years about as bad as it could possibly be. Partly, this was due to the personal antagonism between the two rulers. On the one side (I am speaking of a time previous to 810) stood Pippin, young, brave, and headstrong, eager to distinguish himself in war and indignant that there should be any power in Italy independent of him and his father. On the other stood Grimwald, last hope of Lombard rule in Italy, some years older than Pippin, but still young, mindful of his father's wrongs and his own captivity,

Augustus, idemque rex Francorum et Langobardorum, dilecto et honorabili fratri Michaeli glorioso Imperatori et Augusto, aeternam in domino nostro Jesu Christo salutem. . . . Benedicimus dominum nostrum Jesum Christum . . . qui nos in tantum divites efficere dignatus est ut in diebus nostris diu quaesitam et semper desideratam pacem *inter orientale atque occidentale imperium* stabilire . . . dignatus est' (*sic*).

[1] 'Eundem pacti seu foederis libellum a Leone papa denuo *susceperunt*.' Ann. Einh., s. a. 812.

determined to escape from the odious necessity of professing himself Charles's 'man,' and of proclaiming by the date of his charters, by the effigy on his coins, by his very garb and the manner of trimming his hair, that the Lombard was subject to the Frank.

The mutual attitude of the two princes is well expressed by a tradition which is embalmed in the pages of Erchempert. 'Pippin spoke thus by his ambassadors to Grimwald, "I wish, and am determined with the strong hand to enforce my wish, that like as his father Arichis was subject to Desiderius, king of Italy, so Grimwald shall be subject to me." To whom Grimwald thus replied:—

> "Free was I born and noble my forbears on either side,
> So by the help of my God, free will I ever abide[1]."'

Gladly would we know whether the Lombard prince uttered his defiance in the correct Latin elegiacs in which the chronicler has couched it, or whether he could still speak in the Lombard tongue words not quite unintelligible to the men of the Rhineland.

Wars of Spoleto and Benevento.

The war between the two states resolved itself into a long duel between Spoleto and Benevento, in which, though with some vicissitudes, the fortune of war was on the whole favourable to the Franks. In 801 Teate (Chieti) was taken and burnt by them and its governor Roselm was made prisoner. In 802 Ortona on the Adriatic surrendered, and the Spoletan border was thus pushed forward from the Pescara to the Sangro.

In the same year a more important capture was made. Lucera, that upland city looking towards Mount

[1] Liber et ingenuus sum natus utroque parente,
Semper ero liber, credo, tuente Deo.' Erchempert, c. 6.

BK. IX. CH. 8. 802.

Garganus which seems destined by nature for a fortress, and where long after in Hohenstaufen days Frederick II stationed his military colony of Saracens, was taken after repeated sieges and a Frankish garrison was placed therein. In a few months, however, the fortune of war turned. Grimwald marched to the attack. Winichis, the Frankish duke of Spoleto, victor many years before in the battle with the Greeks, now lay sick (probably of malarial fever) within the walls of Lucera. The defence languished, and at last Winichis was obliged to surrender the city and his own person into the hands of the besiegers. He was honourably treated by the knightly Grimwald, and the next year was set at liberty, apparently unransomed [1].

Death of Grimwald II (806), and of Pippin (810).

The long duel, in the course of which Benevento had suffered much from the ravages of the Frankish troops, was at last brought to an end by the death of the two chief combatants. In 806 Grimwald died and was succeeded by another prince of the same name, who is said [2] to have previously distinguished himself by his personal bravery in the first great war with Pippin. The new prince, who is called sometimes Grimwald II and sometimes Grimwald IV [3], was perhaps himself more peaceably inclined than his predecessor, and Pippin may have had enough in Venetian affairs to occupy his attention. In 810, as we have seen, Pippin

[1] Isernia (Istoria della Città di Benevento, p. 175) says that Pippin after a long siege recovered Lucera and generously let the garrison go free: but I have not found the authority for this statement.

[2] By the Chronicon Salernitanum.

[3] The difference arises from the doubt whether the two earlier Grimwalds, who were dukes but not princes, should be included in the reckoning or not.

812.

himself died, and two years later, immediately after the dismissal of the Byzantine ambassadors, his son, the young Bernard, at a general assembly held at Aachen was, as has been said, solemnly declared king of Italy, and sent to govern his new kingdom with the help of the counsels of his cousins, older by two generations than himself, Wala and Adalhard [1]. The influence of the latter counsellor seems to have been especially exerted in the cause of peace, and in the same year (812) an arrangement was concluded whereby the prince of Benevento agreed to pay a sum of 25,000 solidi [£15,000] down, and a further sum of 7,000 solidi [£4,200] annually. The payment was distinctly spoken of as tribute, and there seems to be no doubt that the prince of Benevento, though keeping the reins of government in his hands, fully acknowledged his dependence on the Frankish king and his Imperial grandfather. So ended the last glimmer of Lombard independence in Italy.

Pacific counsels of Adalhard, adviser of the young King Bernard.

The connection with the Eastern Empire, chiefly maintained by two cities, Naples and Otranto, may perhaps have died out in some other parts of Italy more slowly than we suppose. There is a curious entry in Annales Einhardi for the year 809, that 'Populonia [2] in Tuscany, a maritime city, was plundered by the Greeks who are called Orobiotae' (Mountain dwellers). Who are these highlanders, so wedded to the Byzantine sovereignty that their very name is Greek, who plunder

Connection of some Italian cities with the Eastern Empire.

[1] Sons of Bernhard, the son of Charles Martel; see Genealogy on p. 86 of vol. vii.

[2] The usual form of the name at this time was Populonium (so Annales Einh. and so the Codex Carolinus), but I use the better known classical form.

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'the sea-girt Populonia' on its promontory just opposite the isle of Elba? Possibly they may have been corsairs from the other side of the Adriatic, like the Dalmatian pirates who were so long the plague of Venice, but if they were highlanders of the Apennines or of the mountains of Massa or Carrara, we have here a hint of a strange unwritten chapter of Italian history.

Saracen raids.

During all this early part of the ninth century the thundercloud of Saracen piracy and conquest, which was to break so terribly over its central years, was growing darker and darker. The chronicler mentions six invasions of Corsica by the Moors of Spain between 806 and 813[1], repelled with various fortune by the Frankish admirals. The great peace with Cordova, concluded in 810, does not seem to have had any effect in staying these piratical raids. One of the invasions is described immediately after the mention of that peace, and in 813 we find the Moors not only attacking Corsica and Sardinia, but, in order to revenge a defeat which they had sustained from a Frankish general, invading Nice in the Narbonese Gaul and Civita Vecchia in Tuscany. The Saracen had thus indeed drawn very near to Rome. Even in Charles's lifetime the City which gave him his Imperial title was obviously in danger from the Islamite rovers of the sea.

[1] In 806, 807, 809, 810 (twice), and 813.

CHAPTER IX.

CAROLUS MORTUUS.

Sources:—

Besides ANNALES EINHARDI and VITA CAROLI, we get several details as to the coronation of Louis from the life of that Emperor by THEGAN, a Frank and an ecclesiastic of the diocese of Trier, who wrote about 835. He writes as a thorough partisan of Louis.

Scheme for partition of the Empire, 806.

THE last years of the great Emperor were in the main years of peace. Rivals and enemies, Eastern Caesars, Saracen Caliphs, Italian dukes, were all courting the friendship of the triumphant Frank: but as has been already said, they were years of heavy family affliction and years also of increasing sickness and infirmity. In 806 he summoned a general assembly at the Villa of Theodo, and there declared to the chief nobles and ecclesiastics of his realm his scheme for the partition of his Empire after his death. Only the three sons of Hildegarde were to inherit his power, the unhappy rebel, Pippin the Hunchback, though still alive[1], being of course excluded from the succession. The details of this intended division are preserved for us in a Capitulary issued from Nimwegen on the 6th of February, 806[2].

[1] He died in 811.

[2] In Migne's Patrologia, vol. xcvii. p. 298. The date is given in a note to the Annales Sangallenses (Pertz, Monumenta, i. 70).

BK. IX. CH. 9. 806.

According to its provisions, Louis was to have Aquitaine, nearly the whole of Burgundy, Septimania, Provence, and the Frankish conquests in Spain. Pippin was to have Italy, the greater part of Bavaria, Alamannia south of the Danube, and the lands conquered from the Avars and Croatians. All the rest of Charles's dominions, that is the kernel of the old Frankish monarchy, Neustria and Austrasia, parts of Burgundy, Alamannia and Bavaria, Frisia and the newly conquered Saxonia with Thuringia, in fact the whole of Northern Gaul and Northern Germany, was to fall to the lot of Charles, who, as the eldest son, was certainly thus to receive the lion's share of the inheritance. It was provided that each of the two other brothers was to have access to the dominions of Pippin, Charles by way of Aosta and Louis by way of Susa, in order that they might go to his help in case of his being attacked, probably by the Byzantines. Elaborate arrangements were made for the division of any lapsed share between the two surviving brothers in case the brother who died first left no children of his own. As none of these provisions ever took effect it is not necessary here to describe them in detail, except to observe that in the event of Pippin's dominions having to be divided between Charles and Louis it was arranged that Charles should receive certain regions 'up to the limits of Saint Peter.' This provision seems to show that in 806 the Pope was recognised as temporal ruler at least of the Exarchate and Pentapolis. In this important document Charles earnestly exhorted his sons to dwell in peace and harmony with one another, and he did his utmost to prevent the up-springing of any such

roots of bitterness as the attempt to seduce a brother's vassals from their allegiance, the refusal to keep in safe custody a brother's hostages, and other similar evidences of ill-will. He doubtless was aware of the feud which had for some time existed between Charles and Pippin, and which, allayed for the time by the inspiring influence of the tomb of St. Goar, might possibly break out afresh when his own controlling presence should have vanished from their midst[1].

Rapid succession of deaths in Charles's family.

But all these schemes and all these fears dissolved into nothingness at the breath of the universal Conqueror. In July, 810, as we have already seen, Pippin, king of Italy, breathed his last. On the 4th of December, 811, the younger Charles himself, the son who most faithfully reproduced the lineaments of his father's character—brave, strong, devout—died in the flower of his age[2]. He died unmarried, the project once entertained of marrying him to the daughter of the English king, Offa of Mercia, having failed of fulfilment. It was in the same year (811) that Pippin the Hunchback ended his life of melancholy failure; and the year before (810) the princess Hrotrud, who was to have sat upon the throne of Byzantium, died also, she too only on the threshold of middle life. Of the friends who stood round Charles's throne, and who had once lightened the cares of state by their wise counsels or made bright the hours of leisure by their jokes and their

[1] 'Ibi, quod inter eos graves aliquamdiu simultates et inimicitiae fuerunt, inspirante supernâ clementiâ et opitulante confessoris sanctissimi [S. Goaris] merito in frateruam concordiam et foedus amicitiae coierunt' (Miracula S. Goaris, 15, quoted by Simson, ii. 475, n. 3).

[2] If he was born, as seems probable, in 772, he would be nearly thirty-nine.

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repartees, how many had now left him for the silent land! The faithful Fulrad had died long ago[1]; Angilram of Metz, who succeeded him as virtual prime minister, was dead also. His successor, Hildibald of Cologne, still lived: but Alcuin had died amid the smoke-begrimed dwellings of Tours[2] six years before the death of Pippin; and Paulus Diaconus, who had never returned from his retreat on Monte Cassino, he too had died at the close of the old century. So many of the lesser trees of the forest had fallen, but of the one goodliest tree of all it might still be said—

> 'With singèd top its stately growth, though bare,
> Stands on the blasted heath.'

Character of Charles's surviving son, Louis.

The terrible bereavements which Charles had endured left him but one son to inherit his vast dominions, and that son not only the least efficient of all the three, but the least efficient whom the strong Arnulfing stem had yet produced: a man who might have passed through life creditably as abbot of an Aquitanian convent, but who was doomed to disastrous failure when the time should come for him to try to bend the bow of Ulysses. Louis the Pious, Louis the Debonnair, Louis the Monk or Louis the Gentle[3], by whatever name he might be called, though 'most zealous of all the Emperors on behalf of the Christian religion[4],' was, by the confession of one of his admirers,

[1] In 784.

[2] 'Fumo sordentia Turonorum tecta' (Alcuini Ep. 119).

[3] 'Lodoguicus cognomento Almus' (Erchempert in M. G. H., p. 239).

[4] 'Erga Christianam religionem omnium imperatorum studiosissimus' (Miracula S. Goaris, quoted by Simson, Jahrbücher, Ludwig der Fromme, i. 37, n. 7).

'apt to give undue heed to the advice of his counsellors, while he gave himself up to psalmody and diligent reading[1].' Not such was the man to keep in their appointed orbits all those mighty planets that now revolved round the re-erected throne of the Emperor of Rome.

In the late summer of 813 Louis, who had just conducted a successful campaign against his father's old enemies the Basques, was summoned to Aachen, where, in accordance apparently with the decision of a select council held at the same city in the spring[2] he was to be associated with his father in the Imperial dignity. It is a noteworthy fact that in Charles's scheme for the division of his dominions, previously described, no mention was made of this, the most splendid jewel in the whole treasury of his titles. Doubtless in his secret heart Carolus Augustus in the year 806 hoped that his eldest son, the heir of his name, would also be the heir of his proud surname, but partly perhaps from fear of arousing the jealousy of Pippin (sovereign of the land in which Rome lay) and partly from some remembrance of the old tradition that the dignity of Roman Imperator was elective, not hereditary, Charles, while partitioning all his other sovereignties, left this his Imperial title undisposed of. But though an Emperor could not directly bequeath the diadem, he could share with one of his sons in his own lifetime the right to wear it; and this was what

Coronation of Louis, September 10, 813.

[1] 'Nihil indiscrete faciens, praeter quod consiliariis suis magis credidit quam opus esset, quod ei fecit occupatio psalmodiae et lectionum assiduitas' (Thegan, c. 20; quoted by Simson, ibid., p. 45).

[2] See authorities for this statement in Simson's 'Jahrbücher &c., Ludwig der Fromme,' p. 3.

BK. IX. CH. 9. 813.

Charles, 'by divine inspiration' (as was said by his biographer[1]), now resolved to accomplish. After the arrival of Louis a great assembly of the nobles of the realm, 'bishops, abbots, dukes, counts and lieutenant-governors[2],' was held in the palace on Saturday the 10th of September (813). Here the aged Emperor asked each man, from the highest to the lowest, if it was his pleasure that the title of Emperor should be handed on by him to his son Louis. All with exultation answered, 'Yes: it is God's counsel in this thing.' On the next day, therefore (Sunday, 11 September), the old Emperor, dressed in splendid regal attire, with the crown on his head and accompanied by his son, proceeded to the great church which he had built and decorated after the manner of S. Vitale at Ravenna. On a high altar dedicated to the Saviour lay a golden crown. Father and son prayed long before it; and then Charles, addressing Louis, admonished him first of all to love and fear Almighty God, to keep His precepts, to govern His Church, and guard it from evil men. Then he bade him show unfailing kindness to his sisters, to his younger brothers, his nephews and his other kinsmen. Then, to reverence the bishops as his fathers, to love the people as his sons, to repress the proud, to be a comforter of the monks, and a father to the poor; to choose for his ministers faithful and God-fearing men who would abhor unjust gains; to eject no man from his office except for good and sufficient cause, and to show himself devoid of blame

[1] 'Susceptum est hoc ejus consilium ab omnibus qui aderant magno cum favore: nam divinitus ei propter regni utilitatem videbatur inspiratum' (Einh. Vit. Kar. c. 30).

[2] Locopositis.

before God and all the people. In the presence of the multitude Charles said, 'Wilt thou obey all these my precepts?' Louis answered, "Most willingly, with the help of God.' Charles then lifted the crown from the altar and placed it on the head of his son. Mass having been sung, they all returned together to the palace, the father, both in going and returning, leaning on the arm of his son. After many days Louis, having received magnificent gifts, was dismissed, to return to his own kingdom of Aquitaine. Father and son embraced and kissed each other at parting, till they began to weep, but for joy, not for sorrow[1].

813.

The coronation performed without Pope or Bishop.

In the narrative of this great ceremony we observe one notable omission. The rite was solemnized in a church and was connected with the worship of the Most High, but the central act, the placing of the crown on the young Emperor's head, was not performed by the Pope of Rome or by any other ecclesiastic. There was surely a meaning in this exclusion of the priestly element. Pippin had been crowned by Boniface and anointed by Stephen II; Charles as Emperor by Leo III, and even Louis himself as king of Aquitaine had been crowned by Hadrian. But Charles by his own solemn coronation of his son in sight of all the spiritual and temporal lords of Francia, seemed emphatically to indicate to future generations that no intervention either of the Roman Pontiff or of any archbishop or

[1] In this description of the coronation I have followed closely the recital of Thegan, except in one particular. He says that Louis by his father's command lifted the crown from off the altar and put it on his own head. I agree with Waitz (Verf.-Gesch. iii. 260) that here the united testimony of Einhard and five other good authorities, which join in describing Charles as himself the crowner, is to be preferred to that of Thegan.

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bishop in his dominions was necessary in order to create a Roman Imperator. Much trouble and many bewildering debates would have been spared to his successors had this principle been clearly comprehended by them and their subjects.

Bernard formally proclaimed king of Italy.

At the same *generalis conventus* at Aachen, the young Bernard, who possibly had previously held but a delegated authority over Italy, was formally proclaimed king of that land.

Other testamentary arrangements of Charles.

The coronation of Louis was the last of a series of acts by which the great Emperor showed that he knew he was near the end of his career. The abortive partition of 806 of course pointed in that direction. Since then his health had more visibly failed, and for four years, from 810 onwards, he had suffered grievously from gout. In 811 he drew up an instrument, solemnly attested in the presence of certain of his friends, by which he directed the manner in which the money, jewels, fine raiment, and other chattels in his treasury were to be disposed of after his death. The whole treasure was to be divided into three parts, and two of these thirds were to be distributed among the churches of the twenty-one metropolitan cities of his Empire. The remaining third [1] was to be divided between (1) his children and grandchildren, (2) the poor, and (3) his household servants.

Omens of doom.

To the anxious hearts of his counsellors and his people many signs seemed to indicate the impending calamity. Eclipses were frequent in the last three

[1] All but one-fourth (that is one-twelfth of the whole treasure), which for some unexplained reason was to be dealt with in the same manner as the two other thirds. Thus all that Charles's own family would inherit was one-twelfth of his accumulated treasure.

years of his life, and men remembered that in 807[1] the planet Mercury had appeared like a little black spot on the surface of the sun, and had remained there for eight days. Then in 810, when he went forth to his last campaign against his stubborn foe Göttrik of Denmark, rising one day before dawn, and riding forth from his camp, he beheld a brilliant meteor fall from right to left across the cloudless sky. The bright light startled his horse, which threw the Emperor to the ground. His sword-belt and the clasp of his mantle were both broken; the spear which he always carried in his right hand flew forth and fell twenty feet beyond him. When the attendants came to raise him therefore, they found him unarmed and without his regal mantle—an evident sign that he would soon be unclothed of his dignity by death. In addition to these portents, there were earthquakes at Aachen which shook down the stately portico erected between his palace and the church. In the inscription which ran round the interior of the church separating the upper from the lower arcades, the word PRINCEPS disappeared from its proper place after the name KAROLUS. To the excited and alarmed minds of men even the catastrophe that befell the great bridge over the Rhine at Mainz which had been built by Charles's command, a catastrophe in which the labour of ten years was destroyed by three hours' conflagration, was reckoned as another omen of impending doom.

Illness of Charles.

In January, 814, all these gloomy portents found their

[1] On the 17th of March. 'Nam et stella Mercurii xvi Kal. Aprilis visa est in sole quasi parva macula nigra, paululum superius media (*sic*) centro ejusdem sideris, quae a nobis octo dies conspicitur' (Ann. Ein. s. a. 807).

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fulfilment. Charles was attacked by fever, which he hoped, as on previous occasions, to vanquish by abstinence from solid food. But to the fever was added pleurisy, with which his weakened body was unable to cope. On the seventh day of his sickness he received the sacrament from the hands of his friend and counsellor Hildibald, Archbishop of Cologne. He lay in great weakness all that day and the following night.

His death, January 28, 814.

On the morrow at dawn, still fully conscious, he raised his right hand and marked the sign of the Cross on his head and breast. Then gathering up his feet into the bed, crossing his arms over his chest, and closing his eyes, he gently chanted the words, 'Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit,' and soon after expired [1].

Burial of Charles.

The great Emperor had left no orders as to his place of burial, and to wait for the funeral ceremony till his son should arrive from Aquitaine seemed undesirable. Long ago, in 779, he had expressed a wish to be buried by the side of his father in the abbey of S. Denis [2], but that charge seems to have been forgotten by the new generation of courtiers that had since grown up, perhaps even by Charles himself. Since then had arisen the lordly pleasure-house which he had reared at Aquae Grani, and in the holy fane beside it, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, men deemed that it was most fitting that his body should await the general resurrection. Having been washed and reverently tended, the corpse was carried amidst the lamentations of the people to the great basilica, and there interred on the very day of his death [3]. A

[1] All these details are from Thegan's Vita Ludovici.

[2] See deed of gift quoted by Simson, ii. 535.

[3] 'Corpus more solemni lotum et curatum et maximo totius

gilded arch was raised over the tomb bearing his image and this inscription:—

'Sub hoc conditorio situm est corpus Karoli magni atque orthodoxi imperatoris, qui regnum Francorum nobiliter ampliavit et per annos XLVII feliciter rexit. Decessit septuagenarius anno Domini DCCCXIIII indictione VII, V Kal. Febr.[1]'

Lamentations of his people.

The lamentations of the people of Aachen over the dead hero were assuredly no mere conventional tribute to his kingly state. His great personality had filled the minds of all his subjects in Central Europe, and already, even during his lifetime, Poetry, which was to be so busy with his name in after-ages, had begun to throw her glamour over his career[2]. But as the Trojan women round the grave of Hector, so the subjects of Charles mourned their own coming misfortunes in mourning him. The horizon was growing dark around them; the war-ships of the Northmen and the Saracens were beginning those piratical raids which were to make the ninth and tenth centuries one long agony, and men's hearts failed them for fear when they thought of monastic Louis standing in the breach instead of his heroic father. The grief and forebodings of the people probably found utterance in many mournful

populi luctu ecclesiae inlatum atque humatum est . . . In hac sepultus est eadem die qua defunctus est' (Einhardi Vita Caroli, c. 31).

[1] 'Under this tombstone is laid the body of Charles, the great and orthodox Emperor, who gloriously enlarged the kingdom of the Franks, and prosperously governed it for forty-seven years. He died a septuagenarian in the year of our Lord 814, the seventh Indiction, 28th of January.'

[2] Ermoldus Nigellus, ii. 193–4 (Poet. Lat. Aev. Carol ii. 30):—

'Haec canit orbis evans late, vulgoque resultant
Plus populo resonant, quam canat arte melos.'

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effusions similar to one which has been preserved to us, written by a monk of Bobbio, and which is called

Planctus de Obitu Karoli.

Planctus de Obitu Karoli.

From the sun-rising to the sea-girt West
Is nought but tears and beatings of the breast.
Woe's me! my misery'[1]!

Romans and Franks, and all of Christ's belief,
Pale with dismay, declare their mighty grief.

Infants and old men, chiefs of glorious state,
Maidens and matrons, mourn our Caesar's fate.

Father he was of all the fatherless:
Widows and aliens his name did bless.

O Christ! who rulest from on high the blest!
Give, in Thy realm, to Carolus thy rest.

This prayer do all the faithful urge to-day:
For this the widows and the virgins pray.

Now the calm Emperor, ended all his toil,
Lies underneath the cross-surmounted soil.

Woe to thee, Rome! and to thy people woe!
Thy greatest and most glorious one lies low.

Woe to thee, Italy! fair land and wide,
And woe to all the cities of thy pride!

Land of the Franks! in all thy bygone days
Such grief did never thy free soul amaze,

As when King Charles, august and eloquent,
'Neath Aachen's sods his stately stature bent.

O Columbanus[2], let thy tears be poured,
And with thy prayers for him entreat the Lord.

[1] 'Vae mihi misero.' This refrain is repeated after every two lines.

[2] The appeal is made specially to St. Columbanus, as founder of the monastery of Bobbio, in which the author dwells (see vol. vi. p. 133).

Father of all! omnipotent in grace,
Grant him on high a radiant resting-place.

Yea, in Thine inmost holiest oracle,
Let him, O Christ, with Thine Apostles dwell.
Woe's me! my misery!

As might be expected from a monk, the author of this complaint dwells more on the religious than on the political or military side of Charles's great life-work. This view obtained general assent as the centuries rolled on. While medieval dukes and barons delighted to trace up their lineage even to illegitimate descendants of the great Emperor, while minstrels and troubadours found their best inspiration in the luxuriant growth of romance which sprang up around his tomb, the Church remembered with gratitude the great victories which he had won for her against the Lombard, the Saxon, and the Saracen, and at last in solemn council placed the stalwart and free-living hero on high amid her list of saints[1]. It is true that the

Canonisation of Charles, 1165.

[1] In order to reconcile the public mind to the idea of Charles's canonisation, a treatise 'de sanctitate meritorum et gloriâ miraculorum beati Karoli magni ad honorem et laudem nominis Dei' was prepared by order of Frederic Barbarossa, who, as is therein stated, 'being well informed of the holy life and character of the most blessed Charles the Great, rejoices to have been permitted by the divine favour to bring forth to fuller view of all the nations that sun which has been hidden for 351 years.' This life, of which a critical edition has been lately published by G. Rauschen ('Die Legende Karls des Grossen im 11. und 12. Jahrhundert:' Leipzig, 1890), is a most wonderful performance and well worth studying by all who are interested in the mythopoeic faculty of the Middle Ages. The author, who may very likely have been connected with the church of Aachen, was acquainted with Einhard's and Thegan's biographies of Charles and Louis, with the Annales Laurissenses and the Chronicle of Regino, but he also borrows largely from the utterly unhistorical work of the pseudo-Turpin, so-called archbishop of Rheims.

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canonisation, having been decreed by the anti-pope Paschal III, did not meet with universal acceptance, and in Italy especially seems never to have found willing worshippers[1], but in Germany and in France the office composed in honour of St. Charles was widely popular, and to this day the exhibition of his relics, which is made every seven years in the great cathedral at Aachen, attracts a multitude of votaries, and is not a mere antiquarian spectacle, but a religious function reverently witnessed by thousands of the devout peasants of Westphalia.

Most extraordinary is his circumstantial account of Charles's (utterly imaginary) pilgrimage to Constantinople and Jerusalem, his rout of the pagans at the Holy City, his friendly contest with the Emperor Constantine (*sic*) as to who should bear the expense of the campaign for the liberation of Jerusalem, and finally his return to his own city of Aachen, bringing with him in a casket the Saviour's crown of thorns, which, under the influence of heavenly dew, puts forth leaves and flowers, exhales a delicious smell, and works hundreds of miraculous cures. Over all these curious pages hovers the glamour of the Crusades, and we can see that after the preaching of Peter the Hermit it was essential to the idea of a Christian hero that he should have taken part in the deliverance of Christ's sepulchre from the infidels.

[1] So says Paul Clemen (Die Porträtdarstellung Karls des Grossen, p. 101).

THE account given in the preceding pages of the burial of the great Emperor is taken from Einhard and Thegan (biographer of Louis the Pious), and I have no doubt that it is the true record of that which actually occurred. But another very different and much more picturesque version of the story has obtained such wide circulation that it is not possible to leave it wholly unnoticed.

In the year 1000 the young and romantic Emperor Otho III, accompanied by two bishops and by his captain of the guard[1] and count of the palace, Otho of Lomello, opened Charles's tomb. Of this fact there is no doubt, nor that the deed excited the disapproval of some of his subjects, who believed that the vengeance of God fell upon the Emperor for this desecration of his predecessor's sepulchre. But the question is what the explorers saw when they opened the vault. The chronicler of Novalese, a nearly contemporary writer, tells the following story on the alleged authority of Count Otho of Lomello himself[2]: 'We went in unto Charles, and found him, not lying, as is the manner of other dead bodies, but sitting on a chair as if still alive. He was crowned with a golden crown, and he held a sceptre in his hands. These were covered with gloves, through which the growing nails had forced their way. Above him was an alcove[3] wonderfully built of marbles and mortar; into which we made a hole before we came to the Emperor. As soon as we entered we perceived a very strong smell. We at once fell on our knees and did him reverence, and the Emperor Otho clothed him in white garments and cut his nails, and made good all that was lacking around him. But none of his limbs had fallen away through decay: only there was a little piece gone from the tip of his nose, which the Emperor caused to be replaced with gold. Then having taken one tooth out of his mouth and rebuilt the alcove, so we departed.'

This very circumstantial account, professing to rest on the testimony of an eye-witness, is somewhat expanded by Ademar,

[1] Protospatharius.

[2] In Pertz, Monumenta, vol. vii (lib. iii. c. 32).

[3] Tuguriolum.

NOTE B. also a contemporary[1], who lived at Chabannes in Angoulême. He describes the embalming of Charles, and says that 'his corpse was made to sit on a golden throne, girt with a golden sword, and holding a golden book of the gospels on his knees. His head was bound to the diadem with a golden chain, and in the diadem was set a piece of the wood of the Cross. The tomb was filled with odours of balsam and musk, and there were in it many treasures. The body was clothed in imperial robes, and there was a napkin over the face. The golden sceptre and shield which Pope Leo had consecrated were placed before him, and the sepulchre was secured with a seal.'

A certain monk, who wrote probably in Limoges more than a century later[2], has added some grotesque details about a gigantic canon named Adalbert, whom he represents as present at the opening of the vault. He tried Charles's crown on his own head and found it too large; he then measured his leg against Charles's and found his own the shorter, and was punished for his presumption by life-long lameness. But with these later additions to the story we need not concern ourselves. The question is, 'Can the narrative of Otho of Lomello be accepted as true?' Picturesque as is that narrative and resting apparently on such good contemporary evidence, it seems almost certain that we must reject it, since it cannot in any way be made to fit in with the undoubtedly authentic accounts of the sepulture given by Einhard and Thegan. Nothing is said by them about embalmment: nor, buried as Charles was on the very day of his death, was there any time for such an elaborate process as would be necessary to secure the wonderful result said to have been witnessed 186 years after by the two Othos. All the expressions of the contemporary writers point to an ordinary burial under the pavement of the church of the Virgin. They never hint at the construction of a *tuguriolum* leaving space sufficient for the erection of a throne underneath it, nor has any such edifice ever been found anywhere in the basilica, though often sought for. We are thus reluctantly forced to the conclusion that if Otho, count of Lomello, told the story which the chronicler of Novalese reports on his authority, he was playing upon the credulity of his hearers, unless indeed (which seems a possible

[1] He probably died in 1035, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

[2] Not before 1159.

solution of the difficulty) the excavators came upon some effigy of the great Emperor which they mistook for his embalmed corpse. NOTE B.

It should be mentioned—though the fact has not perhaps much bearing on the question now before us—that in 881 (sixty-seven years after Charles's death) the noble city of Aquae Grani was taken and ravaged by the Normans, the palace laid in ashes, and the church turned into a stable. It is not likely, however, that the savage invaders would have time or inclination to search out and despoil the sepulchre of the Emperor.

There seems to be no doubt that on the 29th of December, 1165, the *Translatio* of Charles's remains was solemnly performed in the presence of Frederic Barbarossa as a part of the great ceremony of his canonisation. The chronicle of Cologne says that 'Amid the great rejoicing of the people and the clergy the bones of the great Emperor Charles were taken out of the sarcophagus in which they had lain for 351 years.' There is still to be seen in a chamber of the cathedral at Aachen a marble sarcophagus—the work, according to some, of the second, according to others, of the fourth century after Christ—on which is depicted in bas-relief Pluto's abduction of Proserpine. It is generally supposed that this was the sarcophagus out of which Charles's remains were lifted at the time of the *Translatio* of the saint. If that be so, it would seem at once to dispose of the story told by Otho of Lomello, according to which the Emperor was left sitting in ghastly glory in his *tuguriolum*. But there is in any case a difficulty, owing to the narrow dimensions of the Proserpine sarcophagus, in understanding how it can ever have held the gigantic skeleton of Charlemagne, and after much discussion its connection with the Emperor's entombment is by no means clear.

The head, right shoulder, and thigh-bone of the Emperor enclosed in reliquaries of silver or gold are now preserved in the sacristy of the cathedral, and, as before said, exhibited every seven years to pilgrims to the shrine. The remainder of his body, after various vicissitudes, reposes, it is believed, under the high altar.

(In the preceding note I have followed the argument and accepted the chief results of Theodor Lindner, whose monograph 'Die Fabel von der Bestattung Karls des Grossen' (Aachen, 1893) is, I think, likely to be the end of controversy on this subject.)

CHAPTER X.

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

Sources:—

The LAWS of the Lombard kings Ratchis and Aistulf, as published in Muratori's Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. i. part ii. pp. 85–93, and by Troya, Codice Diplomatico Longobardo, vol. iv. pp. 198–218 and 486–502.

The CAPITULARIES of Charles the Great, published in Migne's Patrologia, vol. xcvii. pp. 121–370, and in Muratori, ut supra, pp. 94–125 (Caroli Magni Leges et Pippini Italiae Regis Leges).

Guides:—

Hegel, Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien, vol. ii. pp. 1–47, and *Waitz*, Verfassungs-Geschichte, vols. iii and iv.

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THE story has now been told of the external events in the history of Italy during the seventy years which followed the death of Liutprand. We have read the letters of Popes, and witnessed the coronation of an Emperor, but have we drawn any nearer to the beating heart of the nation? Can we at the end of the story form any clearer idea than we possessed at the beginning as to the manner of life which men led in Italy during those dim chaotic years? Can we with any persuasion of its truth paint the picture of a Roman, a Lombard, or a Frankish home in the Italy of the eighth century? Do we know what men were thinking as they dressed their olives and their vines,

or can we catch even a syllable of the gossip of the market-place, during those two generations while Italy was cutting the cables which bound her to Constantinople and accepting the dominion of the Frankish Augustus?

I fear it must be confessed that we have not the requisite materials for conducting any such enquiry into the social state of Italy in the eighth century. Literature altogether fails us. We have no Sidonius and no Claudian to disclose to us by letters or poems what was passing in the minds of men. The fountain of Paulus's story-telling has run dry, and even the Lives of the Saints, which often give such quaintly interesting anecdotes of social life, seem to fail us here. Our only resource must be to reap such scanty harvest as we may from the laws of the latest Lombard kings and the Capitularies of their mighty successor.

Later Lombard laws.

Speaking generally, we may say that in the laws of Ratchis and Aistulf (no laws of Desiderius have come down to us) we see something of that tendency towards gentler manners and more liberal views which we found in the laws of Liutprand when compared with those of Rothari[1]. In the prologue to the laws of Ratchis a claim is expressly made on behalf of progress in the art of legislation. 'The lofty Rothari,' says the king, 'drew up his code under Divine inspiration, for the benefit of the God-preserved nation of the Lombards. His successor Grimwald, that most excellent king, after careful consideration of the hard cases which were brought before him, relaxed some rules and tightened others. Then by God's mercy our own foster-father, that most wise prince Liutprand, adorned

Legislative evolution.

[1] See vol. vi. p. 395.

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as he was with all modesty and sobriety, after long and anxious vigils, expressed his desires in an edict which, with the consent of his faithful Lombards and their magistrates [*judices*], received his solemn confirmation. Now, by the help of the same Divine Redeemer, I Ratchis, after taking counsel with the magistrates of the Lombards, that is of those who dwell within the borders of Austria, Neustria, and Tuscia[1], find some things to be just and right in the statutes of my predecessors, and other things to have need of amendment,'—which amendments are accordingly made in the pages that follow.

Tendency to diminish judicial oaths.

We observe in these laws, and also in those of the next king, Aistulf, a tendency to exact fewer oaths of compurgation and attestation, 'which,' as Ratchis remarks, 'through love of gain often lead men into perjury,' and to rely more on the written deed[2], which, we may presume, more of the Lombard warriors could now decipher than in the first century after their great migration.

Rights of women enlarged.

There is also a disposition to look more favourably on the claims of women to a share in the inheritance of a deceased ancestor. Thus in the case of a Lombard dying intestate and without male issue his maiden aunts are let in to a share of his estate, from which, before, they were excluded[3]. Thus also a Lombard's widow was no longer strictly limited to the *meta* and *morgincap*[4], which alone she might inherit under the laws of Liutprand[5]. Her husband might now leave

[1] No mention of Benevento or Spoleto.

[2] The 'cartula vendicionis.'

[3] Aist. Lex i (x apud Troya, iv. 493).

[4] See vol. vi. p. 200 for an explanation of these words.

[5] Lex Liut. vi. 49 (Troya, iii. 494).

her a life-interest in the half of his other property, a power which was, however, subject to certain limitations if she were a second wife, in order to guard the interests of the step-children.

Emancipation of slaves.

The emancipation of slaves seems to have been going steadily forward, and was, on the whole, favoured by the legislator. Probably the cause of freedom was helped even by an apparently restrictive law of Aistulf's[1] (dated March 1, 754), which recited that 'some perverse men, when they had received their freedom, slighted their benefactors, and many masters, fearing to be thus treated, shrank from enfranchising their slaves.' It was therefore enacted that if a Lombard chose to emancipate his slave by the most solemn process[2], but at the same time to insert in the deed of enfranchisement a clause retaining the right to the freedman's services during his own lifetime, he might do so, thus virtually turning the gift of freedom into a bequest.

Sometimes a Lombard would for the good of his soul leave a certain part of his property to 'venerable places' (churches or convents), and would direct that the slaves who cultivated it should receive their freedom and a small allotment of land for their support. It often happened, however, that the dead man's heirs disregarded his will, removed the landmarks which protected the allotment, and brought back the cultivators into slavery. This injustice was repressed by another law of Aistulf's[3], and the 'venerable places' were

[1] Aist. Lex ii (Muratori), xi (Troya, iv. 495).

[2] 'Si quis Langobardus pertinentes suos thingare voluerit in quartâ manu.' For the explanation of 'thingation' and 'by the fourth hand' see vol. vi. pp. 194 and 206.

[3] iii (Murat.), xii (Troya, iv. 495).

charged with the duty of seeing that the testator's intentions were not disregarded. Even if the testator were too near his end to comply with the regular form of manumission 'round the altar[1],' and if he only indicated to the priest who ministered at his death-bed the name of the slave whom he desired to enfranchise, such dying request was to be held valid and the man was to receive his freedom, 'for it seems to us,' said Aistulf, 'the greatest possible benefit that slaves should be brought out of bondage into freedom, seeing that our Redeemer condescended to become a slave[2] that He might set us free[3].' Noble words surely, even though uttered by the 'quite unspeakable' Aistulf.

In the case of a deed of emancipation a question might be raised, 'What consideration should be stated in the deed?' The king answers without hesitation, 'The slave's past services: they are the consideration for his freedom, for you cannot expect a slave to have anything else to offer[4].'

Corruption and weakness of the magistrates.

But notwithstanding all these indications of lessened barbarism, the laws of these two Lombard kings show how chaotic was still the social condition of their

[1] See vol. vi. p. 405.

[2] 'Took upon Him the form of a servant' (μορφὴν δούλου λαβών), Philippians ii. 7.

[3] 'Quia maxima merces nobis esse videtur, ut de servicio servos (*sic*) ad libertatem deducantur, eo quod Redemptor noster servus fieri dignatus est, ut nobis libertatem donaret.'

[4] The Lombard word which I have translated 'consideration' is *launegild*, which was explained in the laws to be 'wider-donum' or 'contra-donum,' that which was, or was supposed to be, the equivalent gift handed over by the receiver of a benefit to the giver. The doctrine of this launegild, which lasted on in some parts of Italy till the twelfth century, is discussed in a very thorough manner by Val de Liévre in his treatise 'Launegild und Wadia' (Innsbruck, 1877).

subjects. First and foremost among the causes of unrest was that besetting sin of barbarous monarchies and of barbarous republics, a corrupt and cowardly judicature. King Ratchis, who had a soul above the savagery of his nation and who evidently had some real yearnings after righteousness, says in one of his laws, 'I call God to witness that I cannot go anywhere to listen to a sermon, nor ride abroad (with any comfort), because of the cries for justice of so many of the poor[1].'

In order to redress these wrongs King Ratchis directs that every judge shall sit daily on the judgment-seat in his city, and not intrigue for his own advancement, nor give his mind to the vanities of the world, but dwell by himself, keeping open and unbribed justice for all. 'If at any time he shall neglect to do justice to his *ariman* [free Lombard neighbour], whether the man be rich or poor, he shall lose his judgeship and pay his *guidrigild*, half to the king and half to the man to whom he has denied justice[2].' And the judge was moreover to exact from his own subordinate magistrates[3] the same oath of incorrupt judgment and the same observance of that oath which he was ordered to render to the king.

Lawless combinations.

When the courts of law fail, for any cause, to give forth such decisions as correspond with men's natural sense of justice, a semi-civilised people is apt to take

[1] 'Quia nec alicubi ad hortacionem' [another MS. reads 'orationem'] 'possumus procedere aut ubicumque caballicare propter reclamaciones multorum pauperum hominum' (Troya, iv. 200).

[2] This apportionment of the *guidrigild* obscurely expressed in law i (or ix) is plainly set forth in law vii (or vi).

[3] '*Sculdahis* suus (see vol. vi. p. 578) *centeni* et *loco-positi*.'

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the law into its own hands and to substitute the 'wild justice of revenge' for the halting logic of the law-courts. Such seems to have been the case in Lombard Italy. 'In every city,' Ratchis complains, 'evil men are forming *zabae* or combinations against the magistrates.' The slight hints which the law gives us as to the nature of these 'zabae' remind us sometimes of an Irish land-league, sometimes of a Neapolitan 'camorra' or a Sicilian 'mafia.' If any man unites himself with only as many as four or five others in order to defy the authority of a judge, to prevent people resorting to him for justice, or to oppose the execution of his decree after trial of a cause, he is to undergo the penalty imposed on the crime of sedition. But the same law repeats and enforces the penalties against idle and unjust judges, evidently showing that, in the king's opinion, combinations against the law were the result of unrighteous judgments[1].

Strange insult to a wedding party.

A curious illustration of the lawless character of the times is afforded us by a law of King Aistulf's[2]. 'It has come to our ears that when certain men were going with a bridegroom, to escort the bride to his house and were making their procession with paranymph and bridesmaids[3], some perverse men threw over them dung and filthy water. As we have heard that this outrage has been perpetrated in other places, and as we foresee that tumults and even murders are likely to be the result, we order that every free man who is guilty of such an offence shall pay 900 *solidi*

[1] See Law of Ratchis, vii (vi), Troya, iv. 207.

[2] xv (vi), Troya, iv. 498.

[3] 'Cum paranimpha et troctingis.' The *troctingae* are without doubt bridesmaids. The *paranimpha* is the chief bridesmaid.

[£540], half to the king and half to the bride's legal representative[1]. If the deed has been done by slaves, their master must purge himself of all complicity in their guilt, or else pay the appointed fine of 900 *solidi*. In any case the slaves shall be handed over to the bride's representative, to be dealt with according to his pleasure.'

It seems probable that we have in this incident something more than the unmannerly horse-play of Lombard villagers. The successful bridegroom has probably won his bride from an envious neighbour, whose disappointment and rage are expressed in this filthy outrage, which as the king perceives, unless promptly and severely punished, may easily blossom into an interminable blood-feud. Even so from Buondelmonte's marriage with the daughter of the Donati sprang the long agony of the civil wars of Florence[2].

Jealousy and suspicion of foreigners.

Jealousy of all foreigners, including the dwellers in Roman Italy, and suspicions born of the Lombard's precarious tenure of dominion, are clearly shown in the laws of both the kings. Thus Ratchis says, 'We have been informed that certain evil men creep into our palace, desiring to find out our secrets from our favourites[3], or to worm out from our porters or other servants what we are doing, that they may then go and trade upon their knowledge in alien provinces. Now it appears to us that he who presumes to pry into such matters as these is not true in his faith towards us, but incurs grave suspicion [of treason]; wherefore we decide that whenever any one is discovered thus offending, both he who reveals the

[1] 'Mundwald' (see vol. vi. p. 404).

[2] Dante, Paradiso, xvi. 140–141.

[3] 'Deliciosis.'

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secret and he to whom it is revealed shall incur the risk of a capital sentence, and shall suffer the confiscation of his goods. For, as the Scripture saith, "It is a good thing to hide the secret of the king, but to reveal the works of God is honourable" [1].'

It is in accordance with this suspicious—shall we say Chinese—policy of self-seclusion that we read in another law of King Ratchis [2], 'If any magistrate [3] or any other person shall presume to direct his envoy to Rome, Ravenna, Spoleto, Benevento, Frank-land, Bavaria, Alamannia, Greece [4], or Avar-land without the king's order, he shall run the risk of his life, and his property shall be confiscated.'

System of passports.

So too Aistulf orders the passes to be guarded, 'that our men may not pass over nor foreigners enter into our country without the king's command [5].' 'Concerning navigation or commerce by land. No one ought to undertake a journey on business or for any other cause without a letter from the king or the consent of his magistrate: and if he transgresses he must pay his *guidrigild* [6].' Another even more interesting law makes direct mention of 'Romans' (that is no doubt the dwellers in the *Ducatus Romae* and other fragments of Imperial Italy), as the persons with whom intercourse was forbidden. 'This also we wish concerning those men who without the king's permission trade with Roman men. If he be a magistrate who presumes to do this, he shall pay his *guidrigild* and lose his rank.

Trade with 'Romans' forbidden.

[1] Ratch. Leges, ix (viii), Troya, iv. 210.

[2] Law vi (v), Troya, iv. 206.

[3] Judex.

[4] The text has 'Reciam,' but 'Greciam' seems a probable emendation.

[5] Aist. Lex v (Troya, iv. 490).

[6] vi (ibid).

But if he be a simple freeman (*arimannus*), he shall lose all his property and go with shorn head [through the streets], crying aloud, 'So let all men suffer who, contrary to the will of their lord the king, engage in trade with Roman men, when we have a controversy with them[1].'

The close-cropped head of the unpatriotic trader was probably a satire on the 'Roman style' of wearing the hair of which we have so often heard. The royal legislator in the pride of his national conservatism says to his rebellious subject, 'Since you are ashamed of the flowing locks of your forefathers and will trade with those well-trimmed, dainty citizens of Rome, we will shear away all the hair that Nature has given you, and send you bald-pated, a derision to all men, to cry aloud your ignominy through the city.'

Evidently whatever possibilities of advancement and culture slumbered in the Lombard's soul he had still in him much of the stolid barbarism of his forefathers. He was not yet nearly so ready to amalgamate with his Latin neighbours as the Visigoth and Ostrogoth had been three centuries before him. And he too must therefore in all fairness bear his share of the blame for having delayed the unification of Italy.

Effect of the Frankish conquest.

We have now to consider what effect the Frankish conquest produced on the social condition of Italy. The conjecture may be hazarded that at any rate for some time no very obvious change resulted from that conquest. As has been already pointed out, the policy of Charles the Great was to put himself at the head of

[1] Aist. Lex iv (Troya, iv. 489).

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the Lombard nation, and we have no sign that his rule was generally felt as an insult or humiliation by the people of Alboin. Something of the old Teutonic kinship may still have bound the two nations together. Their languages—in so far as either nation still used the old German speech and had not changed it for the Latin *volgare*—may have been not wholly unintelligible to one another. We have not, moreover, any evidence of a design on Charles's part to reverse the conditions which had prevailed in Italy for two centuries or to put the descendant of the Lombard conqueror under the heel of his Roman serf[1].

Dukes replaced by counts.

One great change Charles certainly seems to have made, though probably not on the very morrow of the conquest. The Lombard dukes, with their undefined and dangerous power, were replaced by Frankish counts—one probably to every considerable city—directly responsible to their Frankish sovereign. It is suggested[2] with some likelihood that this change was brought about during Charles's long visit to Italy in 781, after the revolt of Hrodgaud of Friuli had shown him the danger of leaving too much power in the hands of the old dukes of the Lombards.

Increased power of the Church.

Doubtless one result of the conquest was to make all the inhabitants feel that the power of the Catholic Church, and pre-eminently of the See of Rome, was more firmly rooted than before, though even under the Lombards the long list of grants of land, of slaves, and of houses to ecclesiastical persons gives us a vivid

[1] This conclusion, which is I think the natural result of a study of Charles's Capitularies, is the same that is arrived at by Hegel (Die Städteverfassung von Italien, ii. 28–32).

[2] By Hegel (Ibid. ii. 3).

idea of the hold which the Church, notwithstanding her quarrels with the kings, had upon the minds of the people. One change doubtless took place, to the material enrichment of the Church, namely the more uniform and systematic collection of tithes, the punctual payment of which is frequently insisted upon in Charles's edicts[1]. In each city also the power and prestige of the bishop were greatly augmented. In many important matters he had virtually a concurrent jurisdiction with the count. These two great functionaries were exhorted to act in harmony with each other, but probably the bishop would be encouraged to report to his sovereign if he deemed that there was anything in the proceedings of the count deserving of censure[2].

The Capitularies.

Our best information as to the social condition not only of Italy but of all other portions of the Frankish

[1] It seems to be now admitted that the Carolingian dynasty did not introduce but only systematised and made more rigorous the exaction of tithes on behalf of the Church. Waitz says (Verf.-Gesch. iv. 120), 'Tithes frequently claim the attention of Pippin, Charles, and their successors. Their laws sharpen up the obligation to make this payment out of property of all kinds: an obligation which the Germans bitterly resented. Yet it cannot be said that Charles first introduced or even first legalised this obligation. He and his father only recognise the Church's prescriptive claim as binding, and thereby give it a new significance. They also issue new directions about the doubtful questions which might arise in connection therewith.'

[2] This is the conclusion which Hegel (ii. 22) draws from the remarkable words of a capitulary of Charles the Bald (876): 'Ipsi nihilominus episcopi singuli in suo episcopio missatici nostri potestate [the power conveyed by the commission of a *missus dominicus* described below] et auctoritate fungantur.' It is true that this capitulary is dated sixty-two years after the death of Charlemagne and that ecclesiastical power was largely increased in that interval.

Empire is to be derived from a study of the Capitularies, those marvellous monuments of the energy and far-reaching, all-embracing statesmanship of the great Emperor. Doubtless any one who expects to find in these documents a scientific system of legislation will rise from their perusal disappointed [1]. The Capitularies are not and do not pretend to be a code. They are far more concerned with administration than with legislation properly so called, and if they must be compared at all, it should rather be with the minutes or memoranda of the English Privy Council than with the codes of Justinian or Napoleon [2].

Ecclesiastical affairs.

To the mind of a modern legislator, probably a disproportionate part of these edicts will seem to be devoted to the affairs of the Church; but Charles truly perceived that in the Church lay the one best hope of civilising and humanising the chaotic populations of his Empire, and that with a corrupt, a profligate, and an ignorant clergy the task would be hopeless. Therefore, though not himself a stern moralist, he insisted with almost passionate earnestness on a reformation of the manners of the clergy: though not himself a man of high literary culture, he pressed upon the churchmen, his subjects, the duty of acquiring for themselves and

[1] This appears to be the cause of the disparaging remarks of Gibbon (chap. xlix; vi. 171 in Smith's edition), who seems to have been mentally comparing Charles with Justinian. But his language leads me to doubt whether he had carefully studied any of the Capitularies except the *De Villis*, a most interesting document but no fair sample of the collection as a whole.

[2] I have not met, even in Waitz's monumental work, with any more helpful remarks on Charles's Capitularies than those which are contained in M. Guizot's twenty-first lecture on the History of Civilisation.

imparting to others at least an elementary knowledge of science and literature.

'Diligently enquire,' he says to his commissioners[1], 'how every priest has behaved himself in his office after his ordination: because some, who were poor before they took orders, have grown rich out of the property wherewith they ought to have served the Church, and have bought themselves *allodia* and slaves and other property, and have neither made any advance in their own reading, nor collected books, nor increased the vessels belonging to the Divine service, but have lived in luxury, oppression, and rapine.'

'Let the priests[2], according to the Apostle's advice, withdraw themselves from revellings and drunkenness: for some of them are accustomed to sit up till midnight or later, boozing with their neighbours: and then these men, who ought to be of a religious and holy deportment, return to their churches drunken and gorged with food, and unable to perform the daily and nightly office of praise to God, while others sink down in a drunken sleep in the place of their revels.'

Schools and school-books.

'Let there be schools in which boys may learn to read[3]. In every monastery and bishop's palace let there be copies of the Psalms, arithmetic-books and grammars, with Catholic books well-edited: since often when men desire to pray aright to God they ask amiss owing to the bad editing of their books. Do not allow your boys to corrupt the text either in writing or reading. And if you need to have a Gospel or Psalter

[1] Capitulare Ecclesiasticum, 809 (p. 324 in Migne's Patrologia).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Cap. Ecclesiasticum, 789 (p. 177, Migne).

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or Missal copied, let it be done by men of full age, with all diligence.'

Grammar.

'Enquire how the priests are wont to instruct catechumens in the Christian faith, and whether, when they are saying special masses either for the dead or the living, they know how to make the required grammatical changes, in order to turn the singular into the plural number or the masculine into the feminine gender[1].'

'Let the churches and altars be better built. Let no priest presume to store provisions or hay in the church[2].'

'Let all the people, in a reverent, prayerful and humble manner, without the adornment of costly raiment, or enticing song, or worldly games, go forward with their litanies, and let them learn to cry aloud the *Kyrie Eleison*, not in such a rustic manner as hitherto, but in better style[3].'

'Let not the scribes write badly: and let every bishop, abbot, and count keep his own notary[4].'

Some of the passages which have been here quoted do not apply specially to Italy, but there can be no doubt from the general tenour of Charles's administration that he strove to raise the standard of literary cultivation in Italy as well as in other parts of his dominions. The need was at least as great in Rome as in the cities by the Rhine: it was probably greater. In reading through the Capitularies one is struck by the extremely barbarous character of the Latin in the 'Lombard Capitularies' as compared with those published at Aachen. The fault is probably that of the

[1] Cap. Gen. Aq. 802, p. 247.
[2] Cap. de Presbyteris, 810 (p. 325).
[3] Statut. Salisb. 799 (p. 207). [4] Cap. Duplex, 805 (p. 283).

Italian secretaries by whom they have been transcribed, and we thus reach a similar conclusion to that which is forced upon us by a perusal of the Liber Pontificalis and the papal letters. At the close of the eighth century Rome was the last place in which to look for correct Latinity, or even a moderate acquaintance with the classical authors. Scholarship, which had died out on the banks of the Tiber, was born anew by the Ouse and the Tyne, in the archiepiscopal school at York, and the monastery of Jarrow.

Charles as champion of the weak.

But important as was Charles's work in guarding the morality of the Church and raising the standard of literary culture, he himself would doubtless have declared that the most important of his duties as supreme ruler of the state was the defence of the rights of the weak and helpless, and the repression of tyranny and corruption on the part of the rich and the powerful. Over and over again, Charles repeats that it is his sacred duty to protect the widow and the orphan. For this he pledges his '*ban*,' that mysterious word which was in after years to bear so awful a meaning when offenders were put to the ban of the Empire[1].

The eight-fold ban.

The eight-fold *ban*, the eight crimes which were considered to be especially against the peace of 'our lord the king' and which were punishable with a fine of 60 solidi [£36], were:—

1. Dishonouring holy Church.

[1] According to Waitz, V.-G. iii. 318–325, the word *bannus* signified (1) the solemnly uttered and published word of the sovereign; (2) the penalty attached to its infraction; (3) the crime which incurred the penalty; (4) the military power of the Emperor, the great war-lord; (5) his general power to protect all his subjects, but especially the widow, the orphan, and the stranger, to defend them from oppression, and to preserve the public peace.

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2. Injustice towards widows.

3. The like towards orphans.

4. The like towards the poor man who cannot defend himself.

5. Rape or abduction of a freeborn woman.

6. Fire-raising; the burning of another man's house or stables.

7. *Harizhut*, the forcible breaking down of another man's hedge or cottage.

8. Refusal to go forth with the host [1].

Two important administrative changes were made by Charles in order to guard the poorer class of his subjects at one end of the social system and his own sovereign authority at the other from the injustices and encroachments of the functionaries whom he was compelled to employ, yet who were in a certain sense the common enemies of both.

Institution of *scabini*.

I. The first of these changes was the introduction of *scabini*, or, as we should call them, jurymen, into the courts of justice. It is admitted [2] that in the earlier

[1] 'De illos (*sic*) octo bannus (*sic*) unde domnus noster vult quod exeant sol. lx. Cap. 1. Dishonoratio sanctae ecclesiae. 2. Qui injustè agit contra viduas. 3. De orfanis. 4. Contra pauperinus (*sic*) qui se ipsus (*sic*) defendere non possunt, qui dicuntur *ur* (? un) *vermagon* (= vermögen). 5. Qui ruptum facit, hoc est qui feminam ingenuam trahit contra voluntatem parentum suorum. 6. Qui incendium facit infra patriam, hoc est qui incendit alterius casum aut scuriam. 7. Qui *harizhut* facit, hoc est qui frangit alterius sepem aut portam aut casam cum virtute. 8. Qui in hoste non vadit.

'Isti sunt octo *banni* domino (*sic*) regis unde exire debent de unoquisque (*sic*) solido (*sic*) lx.'

The date of this law (apud Migne, p. 126) is supposed to be about 772, i. e. before Charles's conquest of Italy, but doubtless his Italian dominions would be governed in the spirit of it.

[2] See Waitz, Verf.-Gesch. iv. 389; Savigny, Gesch. des Röm. Rechts, i. 241.

stages of Frankish and probably also of Lombard society the free men had been in a certain way associated with the king's officer in the courts of justice, but the procedure was apparently fitful and irregular: the frequent attendance of a large body of free men at the courts became a burden to themselves, and the whole custom of popular co-operation in the administration of the law was in danger of falling into disuse. Charles accordingly directed that out of the body of free men in each district there should be chosen seven men, untainted by crime, whose duty it should be to decide, not only as our jurors do, on questions of fact, but also on questions of law, in the presence of the count, *centenarius*[1], or other judicial officers. To these men was given the name *scabini*[2]; they were chosen sometimes by the count and people jointly, sometimes by the king's commissioners (*missi*), but once chosen they probably held their office for life. That office was evidently an honourable one, and, at least during the ninth century, they probably acted as an important check on the lawless proceedings of a corrupt or arrogant governor. One interesting passage in a late capitulary, issued from Charles's court at Aachen, shows that their duty consisted quite as much in courageous condemnation of the guilty as in protection of the innocent. 'Let not the *vicarii* suffer to be brought before them those robbers who have been previously condemned

[1] The *centenarius*, or ruler of a Hundred, was the next man in office under the *comes*. Practically the word seems to have become almost synonymous with *vicarius* (Waitz, Verf.-Gesch. iii. 393).

[2] Grimm derives this word from *scafan* (=the modern German word *schaffen*, to make), and the derivation is approved by Waitz, ibid. iv. 390.

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to death by the count. If they dare to do this, let them suffer the same punishment as the robber himself, because after the *scabini* have judged and condemned a man it is not permitted to either count or *vicarius* to give him back his life[1].' It is important to observe that in this and other passages the actual decision is recognised as being the work of the *scabini* alone. The count has to give effect to the verdict (as we call it), but he has nothing to do with pronouncing it, nor is he allowed to set it aside. In the law itself we seem to have an indication of a state of things like that which has sometimes existed in the back-settlements of America and has led to the 'wild justice' of lynch-law; cases in which the moral sense of the community calls for the execution of a criminal, who through fear or favour is shielded by the governor of the State. An especial interest for us in this institution of the *scabini* is furnished by the fact that, though it came into Italy from over the Alps, the most numerous proofs of its existence, at least throughout the ninth century, are furnished by Italian documents.

Institution of *missi dominici.*

II. The second expedient to which Charles resorted in order to secure justice for the humblest of his subjects and keep his provincial governors in order, was that of *missi dominici*, or, as we might translate the words, 'royal commissioners.'

We have in the recent course of this history made acquaintance with many *missi* or envoys of Pippin and Charles speeding southwards with messages from their master, sometimes to the king of the Lombards,

[1] Cap. Aquis. 813, p. 361.

sometimes to the Emperor at Constantinople, most frequently of all to the Pope. But the *missi* whom we are now considering, and who are generally known by the addition *dominici*, have a different office from these. They are not ambassadors, but are more like the staff-officers of an army, sent from head-quarters in order to see that every regiment is in a state of efficiency. They were generally sent forth two and two, a layman being joined with a distinguished ecclesiastic in each commission. Their duties were so manifold that it is hard to give a succinct description of them; but they were undoubtedly ordered to watch with jealous vigilance the proceedings of all functionaries acting in the king's name, and to see that neither the rights of the crown nor the liberties of the subject suffered either through their lethargy or their rapacity. In the province to which they were accredited they had to review the *heriban*, or national militia, and exact the fines payable by all liable to military service who failed to attend the levy. They were to see to the exaction of tithes and the due observance of the Lord's Day; to defend the rights of churches, widows, orphans, and all who had special need of their protection; to see that the landowners who held *beneficia* from the king or the church were not impoverishing the *beneficium* in order to enrich their own adjoining properties; to choose *scabini*, advocates, and notaries in the several places visited by them, and to hand in, on their return to head-quarters, a list of the persons so nominated. Finally—and this seems to have been one of their most important functions—they were to conduct enquiries as to the legal status of such alleged slaves as claimed to be free men. We know from a certain capitulary

Their multifarious duties.

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of Charles[1], which describes in pessimistic tone the disorders of the land, that great ecclesiastics as well as secular nobles were at this time forcibly reducing the poorer free men to beggary and slavery. So keen in some cases was the slave's desire for freedom that he was believed to have actually murdered a relative, father, mother or uncle, who being incontestably a slave might have disproved his claim to be born free and so have dragged him back into servitude[2].

There can be little doubt that the control exercised by the *missi dominici* in the king's name was cordially detested by the counts and other permanent officers of the state. Even where the governor was not actively rapacious and unjust, he was apt to procrastinate in the performance of his duties. For a day's hunting or some similar diversion he was too ready to shorten or altogether omit the holding of his *placitum*[3]. Now came the two Imperial *missi*, the very note of whose character was strenuousness[4], who held their office only for a year, and were intent on showing to their master at the year's end a good report of work done in his name. These men listened to the complaints

[1] Cap. de Expeditione Exercitali, 811 (pp. 333–4).

[2] This extraordinary statement is contained in a capitulary of 803 (p. 258 in Migne; cv in Muratori), as well as in the above capitulary of 811 (p. 334, Migne).

[3] 'Volumus atque jubemus,' says Charles in the Capitulare Aquense (807, p. 309), 'ut comites nostri, propter venationem et alia joca, placita sua non dimittant, nec ea minuta faciant'; and he goes on to appeal, as he was well entitled to do, to the example which he, the mighty huntsman, set them by the frequent and diligent holding of his *placita*.

[4] '[Jubemus] ut tales sint missi in legatione suâ, sicut decet esse missos imperatoris *strenuos*, et perficiant quod eis injunctum fuerit' (Cap. de Instructione Missorum, p. 327).

of disappointed suitors for justice, tore to shreds the official excuses for procrastination and delay, tested the venal evidence of the great man's dependants, and in short made the corrupt or lethargic count feel that life was not worth living till the backs of the *missi* were turned and they were once more safely on their road. In a capitulary which three of the Imperial *missi* put forth on their own account [1] (probably about the year 806), at the commencement of their tour, they hint a consciousness of their own unpopularity. 'Moreover,' say they, 'take good heed lest you or any one in your service (as far as you can prevent it) be found guilty of any such trickery as to say, "Be quiet! be quiet! till these *missi* have passed this way; and after that we can settle these cases comfortably with one another"; and so either avoid or at any rate postpone the giving of justice. Strive rather that all may have been duly settled before we come to you.'

Importance of the institution.

It has been well said by a German commentator [2] on the functions assigned to the *missi dominici*, that in order to form a right estimate of the value of this institution we must ask ourselves what would have been the state of the Empire without it. 'We have abundant evidence of the grasping character of the Frankish [and probably also of the Lombard] grandees. We see their unceasing attempts to aggrandise themselves at the expense either of the Emperor or of the still existing remains of the free commonalty. We observe how these selfish endeavours, if not strenuously

[1] Capitulare Missorum Dominicorum (p. 294).

[2] E. Dobbert, 'Ueber das Wesen und den Geschäftskreis der Missi Dominici' (Heidelberg, 1861), ad finem.

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resisted, must have injured trade and commerce and the general well-being of the people. It was the *missi* who alone could battle against these tendencies, armed as they were with yet greater and more wide-reaching powers than those of the counts, but with powers which, on account of the shortness of their duration (generally not more than a year or two) and the peculiar way in which they were entrusted to them, were less liable to selfish abuse. Thus we have perhaps to thank the institution of the *missi* for the fact that the poor independent freeholder did not disappear even sooner than was actually the case, that the Emperors, Charles's successors, were not earlier stripped of their power for the benefit of those who had once been only the Emperor's officers.' Still even in Charles's time, notwithstanding all his efforts for the protection of his people, the residuum of official tyranny which he could not succeed in suppressing was working great evil in the land. We seem to be reading over again the well-known lines in Goldsmith's Deserted Village when we read the Capitulare Langobardicum issued by Pippin (of course with his father's approval) from his palace at Pavia, probably in the spring of 803 :—

Melancholy tone of the Capitulare Langobardicum,

'We hear that the officers of the counts and some of their more powerful vassals are collecting rents and insisting on forced labours, harvesting, ploughing, sowing, stubbing up trees, loading waggons and the like, not only from the Church's servants [probably on *beneficia* granted by the Church], but from the rest of the people; all which practices must, if you please, be put a stop to by us and by all the people, because in some places the people have been in these ways so grievously oppressed, that many, unable to bear their

lot, have escaped by flight from their masters or patrons[1], and the lands are relapsing into wilderness[2].'

and of the Capitulare de Expeditione Exercitali.

Some years later, in the Capitulare de Expeditione Exercitali, published at Aachen in 811, the old Emperor utters a doleful lamentation over the general reign of violence and lawlessness throughout his dominions, an anarchic tyranny which prevents him from getting a proper supply of free and well-fed soldiers for the national militia.

'1. The bishops and abbots,' he says[3], 'have no proper control over their tonsured clergy and the rest of their "men"; nor have the counts over their retainers[4].

'2. The poor complain that they are being thrust out from their property, and that, quite as much by the bishops and abbots and their *advocati*, as by the counts and their *centenarii*.

'3. They say that if a poor man will not give up his property to the bishop, abbot, or count, these great men make some excuse for getting him into trouble with the courts, or else are continually ordering him on military service till the wretched man, quite ruined, *volens nolens* has to surrender or sell his property. At the same time his neighbour who has surrendered his property [and thus become a serf instead of a free man] is allowed to remain at home unmolested.

'4. They say that bishops and abbots as well as counts are sending their free men home [instead of causing them to serve in the army] under the name of household servants[5]. The like is done also by

[1] 'A dominis vel patronibus (*sic*) suis lapsi sunt.' As Muratori points out, the slave would flee from his *dominus*, the *aldius* or serf from his *patronus*.

[2] p. 253 (Migne).

[3] pp. 333–4 (Ibid.).

[4] 'Pagenses.'

[5] 'Ministeriales.'

abbesses. These are falconers, huntsmen, tax-gatherers, overseers [1], tithing-men [2], and others who entertain the *missi* and their followers.

'5. At the same time they constrain poorer men to go against the enemy, while they allow men of means to return to their homes.'

The rest of the complaints deal chiefly with the diminished authority of the counts over their own *pagenses*, and with cases of flat refusal to answer to the ban of the Emperor summoning them to the field. The whole Capitulary gives an idea of tendencies towards disorganisation and disruption, hardly kept in check even during the lifetime of the mighty Emperor himself.

Strong set of the current towards feudalism.

For this was in truth the question which presented itself for solution at the beginning of the ninth century. Was Western Europe to escape from feudalism or to undergo it? Was she to be welded together by the strong hands of a series of monarchs like Charles into a well-compacted Empire, such as the old Roman Empire had been at its best estate, governed by a highly trained, well-organised class of administrators, going forth from the seat of empire to enforce the will of their sovereign in distant provinces and returning thereto at regular periods, with rhythmic movement like the pulsation of the heart? Or was the right to govern, with all its privileges and all its temptations, to be grasped by those representatives of the sovereign as their own private property, used for their own aggrandisement in wealth and power, and transmitted from father to son like a hereditary estate? The Roman proconsul or the feudal baron—

[1] 'Praepositi.' [2] 'Decani.'

which was it to be for the next seven centuries? The answer is well known. Whatever may have been the wise and noble designs of the great Austrasian king, his assumption of the title of Augustus did not lead up to the formation of a state like that which was ruled by Hadrian or Antoninus, but led instead to the Feudal Anarchy, which history has called, with unintended irony, the Feudal System.

The reader may perhaps have noticed that I have refrained from using the technical terms of feudalism in describing the political relations of Charles and his subjects; that 'suzerain,' 'vassal,' 'homage' have been generally avoided in these pages. This has been done because the feudal relation had not yet in the time of Charles the Great acquired that definiteness and precision which it possessed in later centuries. Yet the potent germs of feudalism were undoubtedly working in the body politic. There was the practice of 'commendation'; *beneficia* were held of the Church or the king on the condition of performing certain services; the lord (*senior*) had his dependent followers (*homines*); even the word *vassus* is of frequent appearance in the Capitularies. The political solution was already crystallising into feudalism, and possibly no king or emperor could have arrested the development of the process. Charles himself in his Capitularies recognises and defends the feudal obligation. 'Let no man,' he says [1], 'renounce his lord after he has received from him so much as the value of one *solidus* [2], with these exceptions; if the lord desires to kill him, or to beat

[1] Cap. Aquisgranense (813), p. 361.

[2] 'Quod nullus seniorem suum dimittat postquam ab eo acceperit valente solido uno.'

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him with a stick, or to defile his wife or daughter, or to take from him his inheritance. . . . And if any lord summon his retainers to assist him in doing battle with an adversary [1], and one of the compeers shall refuse to obey the summons and shall remain negligently at home, let that *beneficium* which he possessed be taken away from him and given to the man who abides true to his fealty.'

Here we have not only a full recognition of the right of the lord to his vassal's military service, but also (which is more extraordinary in so great a statesman as Charles) we have imperial sanction given to that most anti-social of all feudal practices, the levying of private war. Herein we see how different after all was the Roman Empire remodelled by Charles the Great, from the Roman Empire of the Caesars. Imagine the astonishment of Augustus or Hadrian at finding such a sentence among the edicts of a successor.

Triumph of the disruptive agencies after the death of Charles.

In this brief and imperfect sketch of the internal organisation of Charles's Empire I have necessarily hinted at some of the causes which were to frustrate many of his noble and far-reaching plans. We all know that, as a matter of fact, the disruptive agencies that were at work throughout his vast dominions were too mighty for his feeble successors to contend against; that the diverse races which had seemed to be welded together into one commonwealth by the labours of himself and his ancestors, sprang apart in one genera-

[1] 'Si quis fidelibus suis contra adversarium suum pugnam aut aliquod certamen agere voluit et convocavit ad se aliquem de comparis suis ut ei adjutorium praebuisset.' Of course the vassals are 'compeers' to one another, not to the lord.

tion after his death, and that the treaty of Verdun signed by his grandsons practically constituted France, Germany, and Italy into three separate countries with something like their present boundaries[1]. We know too that feudalism triumphed over all the attempts of the central power to check its progress, that duke and marquis and count and baron made their titles hereditary, and became virtually, each one, sovereign in his own domain; that thus ten thousand disintegrating influences destroyed the unity not only of the Empire, but even of each of the three kingdoms into which it was divided.

But all this belongs to another chapter of history from that which is closing before us. In the course of my now completed work I have attempted to follow the fortunes of Italy and the successive races of her conquerors during nearly five hundred years. The story opened by the death-bed of Julian in a tent on the Assyrian plain; it closes by the tomb of Austrasian Charles, with the notes of the *Planctus de Obitu Karoli* ringing in our ears. In that space of half a millennium, kingdoms have risen and fallen; the one great universal Empire has crumbled into hopeless ruin; the Teuton, the Sclave and the Hun have seated themselves in the cities of the old Latin civilisation; the religions of Jupiter and of Woden have faded away before the spreading light of Christianity, and the religion of Mohammed has overspread three continents; the whole outlook of the world has been changed. Now in 814 the Debateable Land is traversed. It is true that the waters of Chaos will still for

[1] But with the long narrow strip of Lotharingia interposed between Germany and France.

centuries continue to roll over Europe, but the old classical world has finally passed away, and we see fully installed before us those two great figures, the German Emperor and the sovereign Roman Pope, whose noisy quarrels and precarious reconciliations will be the central events of European history during the Middle Ages.

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